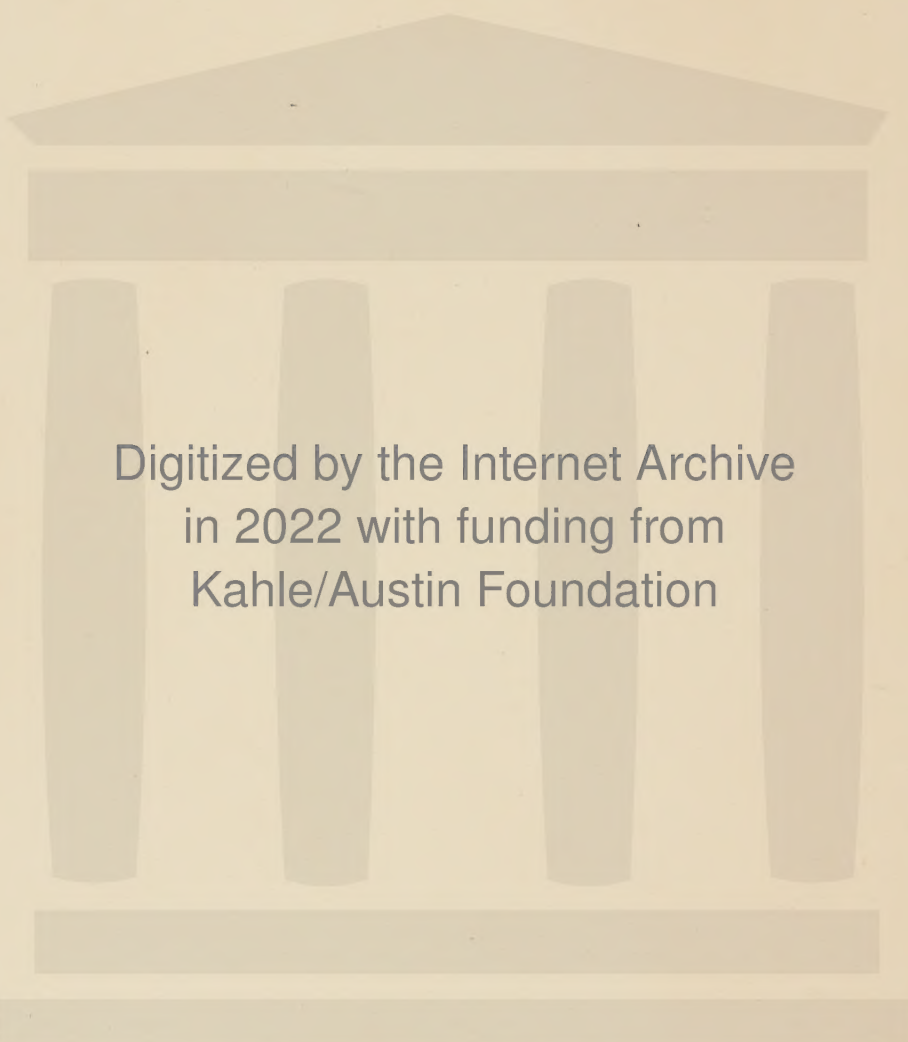


EVANGELION DA-MEPHARRESHE









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# EVANGELION DA-MEPHARRESHE

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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# EVANGELION DA-MEPHARRESHE

The Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels,  
with the readings of the Sinai Palimpsest  
and the early Syriac Patristic evidence  
edited, collected and arranged by

F. CRAWFORD BURKITT, M.A.

*University Lecturer in Palaeography.*

VOLUME II

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES



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P. 8, ll. 9, 20 *for* Habibai *read* Ḥabbīb (*see* Wright's *Catalogue*, p. xxxv)

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## INTRODUCTION.

DURING the greater part of the first nine centuries of our Era the language commonly used in the Valley of the Euphrates and the neighbouring provinces was the dialect of Aramaic which we call Syriac. The literary headquarters of the Syriac-speaking Church was the city of Edessa (in Syriac *Urhâi*), which also had been the centre from which Christianity spread in all that region. The beginnings of Christianity at Edessa are lost in legend, but it is certain that the new religion was well established there before the city was absorbed into the Roman Empire during the reign of Caracalla (AD 216). The political independence of the little state accounts for the early translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular of the Euphrates Valley.

About the year 420 AD the Gospel was extant in Syriac in three forms, *viz* :—

1. The present Syriac Vulgate, now called the *Pëshîttâ*.
2. The *Diatessaron* of Tatian.
3. A translation of the Four Gospels, called by the Syrians *Evangelîôn da-Mêpharrêshê*.

The *Evangelîôn da-Mêpharrêshê* (ܐܘܢܐܢܐܢ ܕܡܦܗܪܝܫܐ, i.e. 'Evangel of the Separated ones') derives its name by contrast with the *Diatessaron*, which is a Harmony containing the substance of our Four Canonical Gospels arranged in one narrative. This Harmony, besides the naturalised Greek name *Diatessaron* (διδασκαλόν), was also called *Evangelîôn da-Mêhallêê* (ܐܘܢܐܢܐܢ ܕܡܚܠܠܐ, i.e. 'Evangel of the Mixed ones').

The main object of the following pages is to trace the history of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, and to determine as far as possible its relations to the *Diatessaron* and to the *Peshitta*.

The *Pēshittā* (ܦܫܝܬܬܐ, i.e. 'The Simple Edition') does not seem to have acquired this name earlier than the 9th century<sup>1</sup>. It is called *Simple* to distinguish it from the later versions of the Old and New Testaments made by Paul of Tella and Thomas of Harkel, both of which were provided with an apparatus of critical signs inserted in the text. The name *Peshitta* is never used by Syriac writers to distinguish the Syriac Vulgate either from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or from the *Diatessaron*, but the term is distinctive, and it is sometimes convenient to continue its use. In the same way we speak of the Latin *Vulgate* as opposed to pre-Hieronymian texts, although the term *Vulgata editio* was originally used by the Council of Trent to contrast S. Jerome's work with the new translations of Erasmus, Beza, and others.

The Peshitta is the only version now used in the Church services. It is so used by all branches of Syriac-speaking Christendom, whether Nestorian, Monophysite, Maronite, or Malkite. This fact alone is enough to prove that its general acceptance is older than the great split between the Nestorians and Monophysites after the middle of the 5th century<sup>2</sup>. In this version MSS of the Gospels are very numerous and a few are themselves as ancient as the 5th century, but they all represent the same type of text, the variations being considerably less important than those exhibited by the better MSS of the Latin Vulgate. There are several editions of the Peshitta New Testament, none greatly differing from the *editio princeps* of Widmanstadius or Widmanstetter (Vienna, 1555): a useful small edition was published in 1880 at New York and subsequently reprinted. A critical edition is now being prepared at the Clarendon Press by the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam, B.D., who has collated for the purpose all the oldest codices: of this edition, the volume containing the Gospels (called *Tetraevangelium Sanctum*) appeared in 1901.

The wide use of the *Diatessaron* in the early Syriac-speaking Church is undoubted. This work (to quote Dr Wright) "certainly gained

<sup>1</sup> *Pēshittā* is the pronunciation according to the 'Nestorian' System, which preserves the older sound of the vowels, as in *Talitha* and *Maranatha*. The Monophysites and Maronites say *Pēshittō*. The word is a fem. adj. in the 'definite' state, agreeing with *mappaktā*, i.e. 'Edition,' but Bar Hebraeus sometimes uses it by itself in the 'absolute' fem., hence the spelling *Peshito*. The form *Peschito* is merely an adaptation to German orthography.

<sup>2</sup> The Nestorian School at Edessa was finally broken up in 489.

great popularity in the early Syrian Church, and almost superseded the Separate Gospels. Aphraates quoted it; Ephraim wrote a commentary on it; the *Doctrine of Addai* (in its present shape a work of the latter half of the 4th century) transfers it to the apostolic times; Rabbula, bishop of Edessa (411–435), promulgated an order that ‘the priests and deacons should take care that in every church there should be a copy of the Separate Gospels (*Evangelion da-Mēpharrēshē*), and that it should be read’; and Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus (423–457), swept up more than two hundred copies of it in the churches of his diocese, and introduced the four Gospels in their place: τὰ τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀντεισηγάγον εὐαγγέλια.”<sup>1</sup>

The policy of Rabbula and Theodoret was only too successful. Not a single copy of the *Diatessaron* has survived in anything approaching its original form—that form, I mean, in which it was known to and used by Aphraates and Ephraim. The discoveries of the last twenty years have enabled us to determine with considerable accuracy the order followed by Tatian, but it is only here and there (and generally by way of inference rather than direct testimony) that we can reconstruct the actual text of the *Diatessaron*.

The chief sources of information about the *Diatessaron* now available are:—

(i) *The Commentary of S. Ephraim.*

This work is preserved in an Armenian translation, which has been printed in vol. ii of S. Ephraim’s Works (Venice, 1836). A Latin translation of the Armenian was made by the Mechitarist Aucher and edited in 1876 by G. Mösinger, but the passages quoted by Ephraim from the *Diatessaron* are more accurately given in an English version revised by Dr Armitage Robinson in Dr Hamlyn Hill’s *Earliest Life of Christ*, pp. 333–377<sup>2</sup>.

Some fragments of the original Syriac of S. Ephraim’s book, which moreover include a few important readings from the *Diatessaron* itself, are imbedded in later Syriac writers, notably the commentators Îshô’dâd the Nestorian (*fl.* 852) and Dionysius Bar Šalibi the Monophysite

<sup>1</sup> Wright’s *Syriac Literature*, p. 9: for further details, see Chapter 4 of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Repeated in Dr Hill’s *Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of S. Ephraem*, pp. 75–119. The pages of Mösinger’s edition, by which the Commentary is always quoted, are to be found in Dr Hill’s margin.



(† 1171). Neither of these somewhat voluminous compilations has as yet been published, but most of the quotations from S. Ephraim have been collected in Dr Rendel Harris's *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus on the Diatessaron* (Cambridge, 1895).

(ii) *The quotations from the Gospel in Aphraates.*

The Homilies of Aphraates were written between the years 337 and 345. In his numerous Evangelical references and allusions he never mentions either the Diatessaron or the evangelists by name, but it is universally recognised that some at least of his quotations are from the Diatessaron rather than from the Separated Gospels. This is notably the case with the rapid survey of our Lord's ministry at the end of Homily II (Wright's *Aphraates*, pp. 41-43).

(iii) *The Arabic Diatessaron.*

This is a careful translation of the Diatessaron from Syriac into Arabic made by the Nestorian monk Ibn at-Tayyib († 1043). It was edited from two MSS by A. Ciasca of the Vatican Library in 1888. A Latin translation was given by Ciasca, and an English one is to be found in Dr Hamlyn Hill's *Earliest Life of Christ*, published in 1894. Unfortunately the Syriac text of the Diatessaron from which the Arabic was translated had been subjected to a revision which very seriously lessens its worth for critical purposes.

In its original, or at any rate earlier, form the Syriac Diatessaron was very closely akin in its renderings to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The causes which led to this textual resemblance are the subject of controversy, but the fact is undisputed. Moreover the Evangelists were not named in the text of the Harmony. But in Ciasca's Arabic the text is conformed to the Peshitta, and every clause is labelled 'Matthew,' 'Mark,' 'Luke,' or 'John.' In other words the Syriac Diatessaron from which the Arabic version was made had been prepared by identifying the Gospel passages out of which Tatian's Harmony had been constructed, and substituting clause by clause the corresponding passages as given in the Peshitta<sup>1</sup>.

The three documents above mentioned supply our main information about the text of the ancient Syriac *Diatessaron*. The *Peshitta*, as has

<sup>1</sup> The Latin Harmony prepared by Victor of Capua, preserved in the *Codex Fuldensis*, was constructed in the same way out of what seems to have been a Latin text of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

been already stated, is preserved in many ancient MSS, some as old as the 5th century. The third form of the Gospel in Syriac, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, is represented by the two ancient MSS called *C* and *S* in the following chapters.

Besides these primary authorities we have to reckon with the scattered quotations from the Gospel in the scanty remains of Syriac literature before the second quarter of the 5th century. It is an obviously delicate task to distinguish between quotations from the Gospels and quotations from the Diatessaron, when (as often happens) the wording of the Gospel and of the Diatessaron coincides, and it is only in the case of the *Acts of Thomas* that we can be sure that the writer is using the Separate Canonical Gospels. The quotations have been collected in the present work, and are discussed in Chapter 3.

The main conclusions to which I have been led may be summarised as follows :—

(1) The Peshitta is a revision of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, undertaken mainly with the object of conforming the translation more closely to the Greek text as read at Antioch early in the 5th century. It was prepared by Rabbula, bishop of Edessa from 411–435 AD, and published by his authority as a substitute for the Diatessaron.

(2) The Diatessaron is the earliest form of the Gospel in Syriac. It was made originally in Greek, probably at Rome, by Tatian the disciple of Justin Martyr, and translated into Syriac during Tatian's lifetime, about 170 AD. As might be expected from a document geographically Western in origin, the Gospel text of the Diatessaron is very nearly akin to that of Codex Bezae (D) and the various forms of the Old Latin version.

(3) The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* dates from about the year 200 AD. It was the earliest rendering of the Four separate Gospels into Syriac, but the translator was familiar with the Diatessaron and often adopted its phraseology. There is great probability that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was prepared under the auspices of Serapion, the bishop of Antioch who is mentioned in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius as having suppressed the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, and there is some reason to identify the translator with Palut, the third bishop of Edessa.

(4) In text, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, so far as it is a direct translation from the Greek, reproduces for us the Greek text current in Antioch at the end of the 2nd century, a text of great critical value which is often very slenderly represented in extant Greek mss. But the use of the Diatessaron by the translator has often introduced readings which really belong to the texts current in Western lands. Moreover both *S* and *C*, our two mss of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, contain readings which have been assimilated to the Diatessaron by transcribers ; and further, *C* represents a text that has been partially revised by later Greek mss.





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## CHAPTER I.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS.

#### CODEx C.

CODEx NITRIENSIS CURETONIANUS, called in this book *C*, consists in its present state of  $82\frac{1}{2}$  leaves in the British Museum, numbered Add. 14451, and of three leaves at Berlin, forming the fly-leaves of *Orient. Quart.* 528. The British Museum leaves are described in Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 73, No. CXIX. The MS came from the great Library of the Convent of S. Mary Deipara in the Natron Valley, west of Cairo.

#### *Later history of C.*

The preservation of *C* appears to be the result rather of a happy accident than of reverence for antiquity. Eighty of the surviving leaves reached England in 1842 as part of a volume of the Gospels made up in the year 1222 AD from various MSS of the same size; the other leaves of the volume were taken from copies of the Peshitta, and the binder hardly seems to have been aware that the text of *C* was different from the rest. The remaining leaves came to Europe as fly-leaves to strengthen the bindings of other books. The leaves thus used are *fol.* 53, containing Lk ii 48—iii 16; and the Berlin leaves, containing Joh vii 37—viii 19, Lk xv 22—xvi 12, xvii 1—23. Two more detached leaves reached the British Museum in 1847: *fol.* 52, the half-leaf containing fragments of Joh xiv; and *fol.* 72, containing Lk xiv 35—xv 21.

Of the earlier history of *C* we know very little. On the blank *recto* of the first leaf is written in a hand of about the 10th century the following note of its presentation to the Library of S. Mary Deipara:—



אֲנִי הָיִיתִי | מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל הַגִּבּוֹר הַגִּבּוֹר  
 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי | הַגָּדוֹל הַגִּבּוֹר הַגִּבּוֹר. אֲנִי הָיִיתִי  
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 אֲנִי הָיִיתִי | אֲנִי הָיִיתִי אֲנִי הָיִיתִי | אֲנִי הָיִיתִי

"This book belonged to the monk Habibai, who presented it to the holy monastery of the Church of the Deipara belonging to the Syrians in the desert of Scete, that God, abounding in mercy and compassion, for the sake of whose glorious Name he separated and gave this spiritual treasure, might pardon his faults and forgive his shortcomings and number him among His own elect in the day that His mercy cometh to life, by the prayers of all the circle of the Saints. Amen, amen !

"Son of the Living God, have pity in the hour of Thy judgement on the sinner that wrote this. Amen !"

Whether *C* was perfect when it was presented to the Nitrian Library by the monk Habibai we do not know, but there are some indications that it was in a tattered condition before the rebinding in 1222 AD. The table of the quires given below shews a large proportion of loose leaves, and some marks on *fol.* 75 v, 76 v, 77 r, shew that *fol.* 72 was once lying loose between 76 and 77, while at the same time *fol.* 79 was facing 75. The conjugates of *fol.* 77 and 79 are now at Berlin: no doubt they were loose detached leaves when they were used to strengthen the binding of the book in which they now rest.

After the rebinding in AD 1222 a few Church-lessons were marked in the margin, and a misguided person corrected some of the pages containing the Sermon on the Mount to the Peshitta text. But the original reading can in all cases be made out<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The only word which presents any difficulty is **ܡܕܢܐ** in Matt v 39, where Cureton failed to decipher the original reading and edited **ܡܕܢܐ** (the Peshitta reading) between square brackets. In Matt v 41 the word **ܡܕܢܐ** has been entirely retraced by this late corrector.

## Composition of Quires, &amp;c.

The quires of *C* were arranged in quinions or gatherings of five conjugate pairs. These were originally 18 in number, but two of them are now represented only by single detached leaves and six have altogether perished. The original signatures seem to have been placed at the beginning of each quire on the lower margin, but so near the right-hand edge of the leaf that all have disappeared except that upon x 1 (now *fol.* 43 r), which is signed **ⲁ**. The binder in AD 1222 signed the beginnings and ends of the quires with Syriac letters, so that e.g. the second quire has **ⲁ** on *fol.* 9 r and **ⲁ** again on *fol.* 18 v. The inner leaves of Quire II, now *foll.* 12–15, have been supplied by a late hand from the Peshitta. They are hardly earlier than the rebinding. The last leaf, *fol.* 88, is of the same period as *foll.* 12–15.

Original Quire and Leaf	Present Numeration of Folios	Contents	Headlines [on verso only]
I 1	<i>lost</i>	[ <i>Fly leaves</i> ]	
2	<i>lost</i>		
3	1	Matt i 1—	<i>Title</i>
4	2		
5	3		
6	4		ⲁⲃⲉⲛⲁ.
7	5		
8	6		ⲁⲃⲉⲛⲁ.
9	7		
10	8	—vi 21	ⲁⲃⲉⲛⲁ. ⲕⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ.
II 1	9	Matt vi 21—	
2	10		
3	11	—viii 22	ⲁⲃⲉⲛⲁ.
[4]	[12]	[viii 23—	
[5]	[13]	( <i>Later</i>	ⲁⲃⲉⲛⲁ. ⲕⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ.
[6]	[14]	<i>supplement</i> )	
[7]	[15]	—x 31]	
8	16	x 32—	
9	17		
10	18	—xii 29	ⲁⲃⲉⲛⲁ. ⲕⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁ.

*Description of the MSS.*

Original Quire and Leaf	Present Numeration of Folios	Contents	Headlines [on verso only]
III 1	19	Matt xii 29—	
2	20		
3	21		החל.
4	22		
5	23		
6	24		החל.
7	25		
8	26		
9	27		
10	28	—xviii 3	החל. אבשלם.
IV 1	29	Matt xviii 3—	
2	30		
3	31		החל.
4	32		
5	33		
6	34		החל.
7	35		
8	36		
9	37		
10	38	—xxiii 25	החל. אבשלם.
V—VIII	<i>all lost</i>	[Matt xxiii 25—	
IX 1	<i>lost</i>		
2	<i>lost</i>		
3	<i>lost</i>		
4	<i>lost</i>	—Mk xvi 17]	
5	39	Mk xvi 17–20,	
6	40	then Joh i 1–42	[No Headline]
7	<i>lost</i>		
8	<i>lost</i>	[Joh i 42—iii 5]	
9	41	Joh iii 5—	
10	42	—iv 10	החל. אבשלם.



Original Quire and Leaf	Present Numeration of Folios	Contents	Headlines [on verso only]
X 1	43 <sup>1</sup>	Joh iv 10—	
2	44		
3	45		. הלמטא .
4	46		
5	47		
6	48		. הלמטא .
7	49		
8	50		
9	51		
10	Berlin 3 <sup>2</sup>	—viii 19	. הלמטא . אספולא .
XI—XIV	<i>all lost, except fol. 52 and fol. 53<sup>3</sup></i>	[Joh viii 19—Lk vii 33] Joh xiv (fragments) Lk ii 48—iii 16	[No Headlines]
XV 1	<i>lost</i>		
2	54	Lk vii 33—	
3	55		. הלמטא .
4	56		
5	57		
6	58		
7	59		. הלמטא .
8	60		
9	61		
10	62	—x 39	. הלמטא . אספולא .
XVI 1	63	Lk x 39—	
2	64		
3	65		. הלמטא .
4	66		
5	67		
6	68		
7	69		. הלמטא .
8	70		
9	71		
10	72	—xv 21	. הלמטא . אספולא .

<sup>1</sup> This leaf is signed א by the original scribe.

<sup>2</sup> *Orient. Quart.* 528, fol. 129.

<sup>3</sup> *Fol.* 53 was probably the second leaf of Quire XIV.

Original Quire and Leaf	Present Numeration of Folios	Contents	Headlines [on verso only]
XVII 1	<i>Berlin</i> 1 <sup>1</sup>	Lk xv 22—	
2	<i>lost</i>		
3	<i>Berlin</i> 2 <sup>2</sup>		. <i>ⲕⲁⲗⲁ</i> .
4	73		
5	74		
6	75		
7	76		. <i>ⲕⲁⲗⲁ</i> .
8	77		
9	78		
10	79	—xxi 12	. <i>ⲕⲁⲗⲁ</i> . <i>ⲕⲁⲗⲁ</i> .
XVIII 1	80	Lk xxi 12—	
2	81		
3	82		. <i>ⲕⲁⲗⲁ</i> .
4	83		
5	84		
6	85		
7	86		. <i>ⲕⲁⲗⲁ</i> .
8	87	—xxiv 44	
9	<i>lost</i> <sup>3</sup>		
10	<i>lost</i>		

It will be noticed that the headlines are inserted on the verso of the 3rd, 6th and 10th leaves of each quire in S. Matthew and S. John, but in S. Luke they occur on the 3rd, 7th and 10th leaves. This fact, even apart from the preserved signature on *fol.* 43r, is enough to shew that the true order is Matt Mk Joh Lk, and not Matt Lk Mk Joh. No headline occurs on *fol.* 40v, which (on the assumption that 44 leaves are lost between *fol.* 38 and *fol.* 39) is the 6th leaf of a quire: probably the title to Joh on *fol.* 39r was regarded as an equivalent.

Codex *C* in its original state contained the Four Gospels in the unusual order Matt Mk Joh Lk, the beginning of S. John following the end of S. Mark on the same page. The portions still extant are:—

Matt i 1—viii 22, x 32—xxiii 25<sup>a</sup>.

Mk xvi 17<sup>b</sup>—20 *followed by*

Joh i 1—42<sup>a</sup>, iii 5<sup>b</sup>—viii 19<sup>a</sup>, xiv 10<sup>b</sup>—12<sup>a</sup>, 15<sup>b</sup>—19<sup>a</sup>, 21<sup>b</sup>—24<sup>a</sup>, 26<sup>b</sup>—29<sup>a</sup>.

Lk ii 48<sup>b</sup>—iii 16<sup>a</sup>, vii 33<sup>b</sup>—xvi 12, xvii 1<sup>b</sup>—xxiv 44<sup>a</sup>.

The colophon at the end is not preserved, but a title is prefixed to S. Matthew which will be discussed later in connexion with the

<sup>1</sup> *Orient. Quart.* 528, fol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, fol. 128.

<sup>3</sup> The present *fol.* 88 is a late supplement containing Lk xxiv 44 to the end of the Gospel.

colophon of codex *S*. There are no lectionary marks by any early hand or any numeration of chapters, but the text is divided into sections, a new line marking the beginning of each section. At present the text is divided into short sentences by red points, but it will be shewn that these were inserted by a later hand. The writing is a large and beautiful Estrangela, the work of a practised scribe: the freedom with which the curves of the letters are formed points to the early part of the 5th century as the latest date that can be assigned to the writing. The vellum also suggests an early date, as it is very smooth and exceedingly white where not stained or otherwise damaged.

Each page contains two columns of writing, vertical lines for which were ruled in the vellum with a fine point. As is often the case with ancient Syriac mss, horizontal lines were ruled only at the top and bottom of the columns, and the number of lines in a column consequently varies from 22 to 26. The usual number is 24 or 25. Each leaf is about  $11\frac{3}{4}$  in. by 9 in. There are generally only three words to a line. Headings and subscriptions to the Gospels are written in red ink, as is also the first word of each Beatitude in S. Matthew. The sign < is used in Matt viii 17 and Joh vi 32 to fill up the ends of lines accidentally left blank; in Lk iii 11 the sign o is used for this purpose.

The text of *C* suffered very little from subsequent correction previous to the rebinding in 1222 AD. The words *ܠܝܐܘ ܕܐܠ* in Lk xxii 56 have been added above the line, perhaps by the original scribe, and the word *ܐܠ* 'forsooth' (which is only met with in ancient Syriac writings) has been washed out in the three places where it occurs, viz. Lk xvi 11, xx 17, xxii 70<sup>1</sup>. In Joh iv 35 *ܐܕܡܪ* (2°) and in Lk ix 12 *ܡܐܝܪ* have been cancelled with small red dots. The word *ܡܐܝܪ* is a mere slip in writing, but *ܐܕܡܪ* is apparently correct and should have been left standing. The same remark applies to *ܕܐܠܝܐ* in Joh iv 32, which has been washed out though it is read in *S* and the Peshitta in accordance with all other authorities.

Several other words and lines have been washed out by the scribe and then written over, owing to various ordinary accidents of transcription, but neither in writing nor in correction is there the slightest trace of the use of a second exemplar.

<sup>1</sup> In all three instances *S* has the word.

*The Colometry of C.*

The text of *C* is now divided into short sentences by a reddish-brown point, which is placed about as often as a comma or larger stop would come in an English book. At the end of paragraphs the same hand has added larger and more ornamental stops, substituting for the plain point or  $\cdot\circ$  of the original scribe figures such as  $\circ\circ$  or  $\circ\circ\circ$ . Where the paragraph ends a line, so that no room for a stop is left, the punctuator inserted  $\circ\circ\circ\circ$  between the lines, though frequently there was but little room for this, the original scribe having left no space vacant between the lines except where he intended a paragraph to end.

It is obviously difficult to fix the date of a scribe whose work is confined to mere dots; but a fortunate accident makes it clear that the dots were inserted after the sheets were already sewn, and that the hand was not that of the regular rubricator who wrote the occasional headlines. For the dots are entirely absent from *fol.* 48 v, 49 r (*Joh* vi 30<sup>b</sup>–53<sup>a</sup>). The only mark of punctuation visible when the book is open at this place is a single point at the end of vi 51 (*ܬܡܝܠܐ ܡܥܬܐ*), where the paragraph ends. As soon as the leaf is turned over the points begin again. Now this could hardly have happened otherwise than through careless turning over of two leaves at the same time: in other words, *C* was already a bound book when the punctuator was at work. Moreover he must have written *currente calamo*, with much the same haste as according to the common story the New Testament was divided into verses; we cannot imagine that he would not have found out his mistake if he had been copying the punctuation from another exemplar. Thus the colometry of the Curetonian Syriac represents nothing more than the individual judgement of a reader.

That this reader was not the rubricator of the MS appears from the fact that *fol.* 48 v is one of the pages which has *ܬܡܝܠܐ ܡܥܬܐ* written in red upon the upper margin as a headline. The colour also of the red ink is different, that of the punctuation dots being sensibly browner than the headlines.



The *recto* of the detached half-leaf containing fragments from Joh xiv is also without punctuation, but it appears on the *verso*. The same accident therefore of turning over two leaves together occurred here as well as in Joh vi.

For some reason which I am quite unable to divine the punctuation throughout the whole of the first chapter of S. Matthew has been carefully washed out. The result may be clearly seen in the photograph of *C* published in F. G. Kenyon's *Our Bible and the Ancient MSS*, facing p. 155.

What punctuation was inserted in *C* by the first hand is very difficult to determine, as most of the places where punctuation is natural have been covered by the red dots. A small black dot was generally placed at the end of paragraphs, e.g. at the end of Matt i 23, vi 23, etc.; in other places a slightly more elaborate stop was used, e.g. **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** Lk xiii 17; but often no room was left for any stop at all, e.g. in Matt xxiii 14 **ܕܝܢܐ** comes quite to the end of the line<sup>1</sup>. There is a dot by the first hand at the end of the short interrogative sentence in Lk viii 45 (**ܐܢܝܢܐ**), but if we may judge by the pages left untouched by the hand who inserted the red dots, the original scribe of *C* hardly gave any punctuation at all. This is very uncommon in Syriac mss, but much the same state of things once obtained in cod. B of Aphraates. Besides Lk viii 45, the only places I have noted as having stops certainly by the original hand are **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** Lk xiii 14 and **ܕܝܢܐ** Lk xxiv 31: both instances occur at the ends of lines. On the other hand it is clear that no stop was intended by the original scribe after **ܕܝܢܐ** Matt xv 38, after **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** Matt xvi 15, or after **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** Lk xxi 27.

In editing *C* I have inserted the dots of the punctuator, as they are on the whole a satisfactory division of the text. But it must be repeated that they have no claim to represent a traditional Old Syriac colometry.

<sup>1</sup> The **ܐܘܢܝܢܐ** is here inserted by the later punctuator between the lines.

*Cureton's Edition.*

Codex *C* derives its name from Dr Cureton, who edited the text in full in 1858. The title of his work is *Remains of a very antient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe; discovered, edited, and translated by William Cureton, D.D., F.R.S.....* London, 1858. The three Berlin leaves form part of a MS bought in Egypt by Dr Brugsch the Egyptologist: they were edited by Roediger in the *Monatsbericht der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* for July, 1872, p. 557. A small edition of 100 copies was printed for private circulation to range with Cureton's book by Dr W. Wright.

Cureton's edition gives the Syriac text of *C* with great fidelity. His introduction contains much interesting and curious matter, then to a great extent new and unfamiliar, but now almost entirely superseded by the labours of two generations of Syriac scholars. Cureton's theory that the text of S. Matthew's Gospel in *C* retained to a great extent "the identical terms and expressions which the Apostle himself employed" (p. xciii) attracted a good deal of attention, but gained few converts: it is sufficient refutation to point out that Edessene Syriac is quite a different dialect from the Aramaic of Palestine. The same claim had been advanced for the Peshitta by Widmanstadius in 1555: *Ex quibus omnibus*, he says, *coniecturam non leuem capi posse arbitror, et Mathæum Euangelium suum, & Paulum ad Hebræos Epistolam sermone Syro, Hebraici populi vulgari usu trito, vt à Iudeis passim omnibus intelligerentur, scripsisse, eaque in Syrorum Ecclesijs iam vsque à temporibus Apostolorum conseruata fuisse* (Preface to the *Ed. Princ.* of the Peshitta, fol. *a* \*\*\*\*\*3).



WILLIAM CURETON, D.D., F.R.S.

*Assistant-Keeper of MSS at the British Museum and Canon of Westminster.  
b. 1808; d. 1864.*







## CODEX S.

CODEX PALIMPSESTUS SINAITICUS is No. 30 among the Syriac mss in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai. A description is given in Mrs Lewis's "Catalogue of the Syriac mss...on Mount Sinai" (*Studia Sinaitica* 1), pp. 43-47.

*Recent history of S.*

The Syriac Library at the Convent on Mount Sinai was first explored by Mr (now Dr) J. Rendel Harris and Mr Bliss in 1889, when Dr Harris discovered the Syriac translation of the early Christian Apology of Aristides. In 1892 the Convent was visited by Mrs Lewis and her sister Mrs Gibson, of Cambridge, who saw S among the other volumes of the Library. Struck by the antique appearance of the lower writing of the palimpsest, which they knew from the still visible headlines to be a ms of the Gospels, these ladies took photographs of the whole volume. On their return to Cambridge a few of the more legible pages were deciphered by the late Prof. R. L. Bensly and the present writer<sup>1</sup>. Early in 1893 the palimpsest itself was transcribed at Sinai by Prof. Bensly, Dr Rendel Harris and myself; on the same occasion some more photographs were taken by Mrs Lewis, who was also of the party. Our transcript was published at Cambridge in 1894, after Prof. Bensly's lamented death<sup>2</sup>. Mrs Lewis visited Sinai again in 1895, and transcribed some more passages with the help of a reagent: these were published in 1896<sup>3</sup>. In 1897 Mrs Lewis went

<sup>1</sup> It was not always an easy matter at first to discover from what part of the Gospels any given page was taken, and when that was done it was not always a page where C was extant and characteristically different from syr.vg. I remember that the first reading we made out where the photograph clearly agreed with the Curetonian against the Peshitta was  (instead of ) at the end of Matt xxiii 23.

<sup>2</sup> *The Four Gospels in Syriac transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest* by the late Robert L. Bensly, M.A., and by J. Rendel Harris, M.A., and by F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A., with an Introduction by Agnes Smith Lewis; edited for the Syndics of the University Press, Cambridge, 1894. I quote this volume as "*Syndics' Edition*."

<sup>3</sup> *Some Pages of the Four Gospels re-transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest...* by Agnes Smith Lewis; London, 1896. I quote this volume as "*Some Pages*."

for the fourth time to Sinai, bringing back several corrections, which she published in the *Expositor* for August, 1897, pp. 111–119, and also a series of excellent photographs much clearer than any previously taken. Complete sets have been presented by her to the Cambridge University Library; to Westminster College, Cambridge; to the University Library, Halle; and to the Rylands' Library, Manchester.

Thus the editor of *S* has to take into consideration at least three publications, and he should also consult the photographs. In printing the text I have adopted the rule of silently following the latest published reading; when for any reason another reading is given, the reader is expressly warned in the notes. This chiefly occurs where I have succeeded in correcting the printed text from the photographs; in this way the text of *S* as now given differs in over 250 places from what has been hitherto published. The corrections are registered in Appendix III to the first volume of this work.

*When and where the upper writing was transcribed.*

The upper writing of the Sinai Palimpsest is dated in the year of the Greeks 1090, i.e. 778 AD (*fol.* 181 v). The determination of the place where it was written is of interest to students of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, as giving some indication of the home of *S* in the 8th century.

In its present state the volume consists of 182 leaves of vellum, including a leaf pasted into the cover; the quires are quinions, except the last, which has six pairs. These quires are numbered doubly, *viz.* with Syriac letters running from right to left and with Georgian signatures running the opposite way<sup>1</sup>. The Georgian signatures were first observed by Mrs Gibson and should have afforded some clue to the place of writing, for it is not everywhere that we come across traces of Georgian communities in Syria.

The contents of the book are chiefly taken up with a collection of twelve Lives of Female Saints. The scribe gives his name three times

ܝܗܢܐ ܒܬܐ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܚܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܒܬܐ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܚܘܪܝܬܐ (*fol.* 2v)

*John the anchorite of Beth Mari the Saint.*

<sup>1</sup> Abridged from Mrs Lewis's description in *Syndics' Edition*, p. vi.

ⲙⲉⲥⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ (fol. 165v)  
ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ

*John the anchorite of Beth Mari Qanon the Saint of Ma'arrath Mesrên city.*

ⲙⲉⲥⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ (fol. 181r)  
ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ

*John the stylite of Beth Mari Qanon, a monastery of Ma'arrath Mesrên city in the district of Antioch<sup>1</sup>.*

The natural interpretation of these sentences is that the book was written by a stylite monk called John in a certain monastery at Ma'arrath Mesrên (مَعْرَة مَصْرِين), which is a small town in Lat. 36° N, about equidistant from Antioch and Aleppo. This place is mentioned in *Yāqūt* iv 574 and in the various authorities for the history of the Crusades, but I have entirely failed to discover any mention of the scribe's monastery. It is curious that ⲙⲉⲥⲙⲉⲛ does not appear in the sentence quoted from fol. 2 v. The natural meaning of ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ is 'the House (i.e. Convent) of S. Qanon,' but we can hardly suppose the scribe to have accidentally dropped the Saint's name in the first lines of his preface. ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ therefore seems to be a proper name. There is a village called Bêt Merri near Beyrout, which also contained a monastery.

But wherever our palimpsest was transcribed, it is certain that it reached Mount Sinai not alone, but as part of a considerable library. In the first place there is a likelihood that all the numerous MSS at Sinai which are either in the Georgian language, or (like our palimpsest) contain Georgian writing, came originally from the same collection. Still clearer is the case with regard to cod. 588 of the Arabic MSS at Sinai, a vellum book containing a *Prophetologion* in Arabic written over various Syriac Apocrypha. One of these fragments appears to have belonged to the same MS of the *Transitus Mariae* (Κόιμησις

<sup>1</sup> I am sure the last word but one is ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ 'district,' not ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ 'star' (as read by Mrs Lewis in *Studia Sinaitica* ix, p. xxiv, at the suggestion of Dr Nestle). The word occurs at the end of a line, and there is a small gap between the ⲙ and the ⲉ which I think was left blank by the scribe, ⲙ being a letter which cannot be prolonged. ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ is derived from the Greek and so can be used in the absolute state, e.g. ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ Lk iii 1 SC; but ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ ⲙⲉⲥⲣⲉⲛ is grammatically improbable.

*Ma'ías*) as was also used for this palimpsest by John of Ma'arrath Meşrên. "This identification rests (1) on the similarity of the vellum, (2) on the probable agreement in size, the leaves of the Syriac Apocryphal text used by John the Recluse having been slightly cut at the edges in order to harmonize with the rest of the volume, (3) on the character of the script, and (4) on the coincidence of the contents<sup>1</sup>." Furthermore this same cod. 588 is a double palimpsest, four leaves of the Syriac Apocrypha being written over fragments of the Third Book of Kings in the Palestinian Syriac dialect<sup>2</sup>. This brings the book written by John of Ma'arrath Meşrên into connexion with the ancient Palestinian Syriac fragments at Sinai and St Petersburg, which also are in some instances covered with Georgian writing.

It may be permitted, in the absence of certain information, to conjecture the fate of this Library of MSS in Edessene and Palestinian Syriac, in Georgian and in Arabic, to which our palimpsest once belonged. The town and district of Ma'arrath Meşrên was a portion of the Latin Principality of Antioch granted by Alexius to Bohemund about 1100 AD<sup>3</sup>. But in granting the temporal dominion to the foreign Crusader the Emperor expressly reserved the appointment of the Patriarch of Antioch, who was to be chosen from the Constantinopolitan clergy. This meant the predominance of 'Melkite' influence throughout the Principality; the Monophysite Patriarch had already left Antioch to take refuge in a Mohammedan land, and we may assume that the monks of Ma'arrath Meşrên were not long in making their submission to Constantinople and Chalcedon. But the one fact which comes out from historical sources about Ma'arrath Meşrên is that it was continually exposed to the chances of war; it was often raided, often retaken, and must have become more and more unsuitable as a resting place for stylites and anchorites. In the same way therefore as Monophysite monks took refuge in the Natron Valley we may suppose that the monks of Ma'arrath Meşrên migrated to the great Orthodox sanctuary of Sinai, bringing their books with them. At least there is nothing improbable in the conjecture.

<sup>1</sup> *Syndics' Edition*, p. xvii. The identification is due to Dr Rendel Harris.

<sup>2</sup> Discovered by my friend Mr J. F. Stenning, and edited by him in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1896.

<sup>3</sup> *Alexiad* xiii 12.



*The original MSS.*

John of Ma'arrath Meṣrên wrote his book of Saints' Lives on portions of five older MSS. These are

1. 142 leaves of the MS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, here called *S*.

2. 4 leaves, containing fragments of the Gospel of S. John, in fine square Greek uncials of the 4th or 5th century.

3. 20 leaves, containing fragments of the *Acta Thomae* in a Syriac hand of the 5th century.

4. 4 leaves, containing fragments of the *Transitus Mariae* (Κόλμης Μαρίας), in a Syriac hand of the 5th or 6th century.

5. 12 leaves, containing fragments of Homilies in fine sloping Greek uncials of the 6th century or earlier.

Nos. 4 and 5 were taken from MSS much larger than the others, and each leaf has been seriously cut to make it fit, but the leaves of *S* were very little trimmed when they were written over.

All the leaves not taken from *S* were arranged by John of Ma'arrath Meṣrên in the last four quires of his book, so that we may regard them as a makeshift, resorted to when the supply from *S* was exhausted. The whole of *S* is preserved except 22 leaves, and these 22 include the blank fly-leaves originally placed at the beginning and end of the volume. These leaves and their conjugates are generally the first to go in neglected codices, so that their absence in this instance is not surprising. Probably therefore *S* was taken to pieces for the express purpose of supplying vellum for the existing palimpsest, and consequently we learn that the 22 leaves were already missing in 778 AD—a small number for so ancient a MS. The 12 leaves from the MS of Greek Homilies occupy the final quire, while the other miscellaneous leaves were used to make up the 15th, 16th and 17th quires.

Portions of two leaves of the Greek Gospel fragments have been made out, which formed the outside pages of a quire containing Joh vii 6—ix 23. The text is given in *Studia Sinaitica* ix, pp. 45, 46. In the same volume, pp. 23–44, the present writer has edited eight of the more legible pages of the fragments of the Acts of Thomas. These fragments are at least four hundred years older than any other known

text of the Acts of Thomas, and in view of the importance of the Acts for the criticism of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* itself I add here a complete Table of the three quires of the palimpsest in which the fragments occur.

*Quires XV—XVII of the Sinai Palimpsest*  
(*Studia Sinaitica* ix, p. 25)

Quire and Leaf	Photographs	Contents	Pages of Wright's <i>Apocryphal Acts</i> (Syriac Text)
XV 1	281, 282	Acts of Thomas	299 <sup>7</sup> —301 <sup>22</sup>
2	283, 284	<i>Greek Gospel</i> (Joh vii 6— )	
3	285, 286	<i>Syriac Gospel</i> (Mk xiv 64—xv 19)	
4	287, 288	<i>Greek Gospel</i>	
5	289, 290	Acts of Thomas	317 <sup>4</sup> —319 <sup>5</sup>
6	291, 292	Acts of Thomas	315 <sup>4</sup> —317 <sup>4</sup>
7	293, 294	<i>Greek Gospel</i>	
8	295, 296	<i>Syriac Gospel</i> (Mk xii 19—42)	
9	297, 298	<i>Greek Gospel</i> (Joh —ix 23)	
10	299, 300	Acts of Thomas	301 <sup>22</sup> —303 <sup>12</sup>
XVI 1	301, 302	<i>Transitus Mariae</i>	
2	303, 304	Acts of Thomas	321—323
3	305, 306	Acts of Thomas	185 <sup>6</sup> —187
4	307, 308	Acts of Thomas	305—307
5	309, 310	<i>Transitus Mariae</i>	
6	311, 312	<i>Transitus Mariae</i>	
7	313, 314	Acts of Thomas	295 <sup>6</sup> —297 <sup>5</sup>
8	315, 316	Acts of Thomas	198 <sup>20</sup> —202 <sup>16</sup> ( <i>sic</i> )
9	317, 318	Acts of Thomas	311 <sup>8</sup> —313 <sup>5</sup>
10	319, 320	<i>Transitus Mariae</i>	
XVII 1	321, 322	Acts of Thomas	209—211 <sup>15</sup>
2	323, 324	Acts of Thomas	297 <sup>5</sup> —299 <sup>6</sup>
3	325, 326	Acts of Thomas	309 <sup>7</sup> —311 <sup>8</sup>
4	327, 328	Acts of Thomas	253 <sup>14</sup> —255 <sup>13</sup>
5	329, 330	Acts of Thomas	319 <sup>5</sup> —321
6	331, 332	Acts of Thomas	313 <sup>5</sup> —315 <sup>4</sup>
7	333, 334	Acts of Thomas	237—239 <sup>11</sup>
8	335, 336	Acts of Thomas	323—325
9	337, 338	Acts of Thomas	303 <sup>12</sup> —305
10	339, 340	Acts of Thomas	211 <sup>15</sup> —213
XVIII 1—12	341—364	<i>Greek Homilies (still unidentified)</i>	

We come at last to *S* itself, the ms of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. In its original form *S* was a vellum codex consisting of 166 leaves, on which were written the Four Gospels in the usual order Matt Mk Lk Joh. The following Table shews the original arrangement, together with the numeration of Mrs Lewis's photographs<sup>1</sup>, which follows the paging of the ms as it now is.

*The original composition of S.*

Ancient Quire and Leaf	Contents	Photographs (and pp. of MS)
I 1	*	<i>missing</i>
2	*	<i>missing</i>
3	Matt i 1—17	163, 164
4	i 17—ii 15	112, 111
5	ii 15—iii 17	83, 84
6	iii 17—v 1	97, 98
7	v 1—26	110, 109
8	v 26—vi 10	177, 178
9	[vi 10—	<i>missing</i>
10 [K]	—viii 3]	<i>missing</i>
II 1 K	Matt viii 3—30	20, 19
2	viii 30—ix 23	149, 150
3	ix 23—x 15	229, 230
4	x 15—xi 1	74, 73
5	xi 1—30	192, 191
6	xii 1—31	190, 189
7	xii 31—xiii 5	68, 67
8	xiii 6—31	231, 232
9	xiii 31—xiv 1	151, 152
10	xiv 1—31	2, 1
III 1	Matt xiv 31—xv 27	47, 48
2	xv 27—xvi 15	61, 62
3	[xvi 15—xvii 11]	<i>missing</i>
4	xvii 11—xviii 8	141, 142
5	xviii 9—xix 3	34, 33
6	xix 3—28	28, 27
7	xix 28—xx 24	159, 160
8	[xx 24—xxi 20]	<i>missing</i>
9	xxi 20—43	79, 80
10 =	xxi 43—xxii 27	53, 54

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 18.

Ancient Quire and Leaf	Contents	Photographs (and pp. of ms)
IV 1 $\supset$	Matt xxii 27—xxiii 15	89, 90
2	xxiii 15—xxiv 2	269, 270
3	xxiv 2—31	225, 226
4	xxiv 31—xxv 12	200, 199
5	xxv 12—37	147, 148
6	xxv 37—xxvi 17	153, 154
7	xxvi 17—44	182, 181
8	xxvi 44—67	235, 236
9	xxvi 67—xxvii 19	271, 272
10	xxvii 20—47	91, 92
V 1	Matt xxvii 47—xxviii 7	267, 268
2	[xxviii 7—Mark i 12]	<i>missing</i>
3	Mark i 12—44	60, 59
4	[i 44—ii 21]	<i>missing</i>
5	ii 21—iii 21	201, 202
6	iii 21—iv 17	219, 220
7	[iv 17—41]	<i>missing</i>
8	iv 41—v 26	42, 41
9	[v 26—vi 5]	<i>missing</i>
10 $\searrow$	vi 5—28	273, 274
VI 1 $\searrow$	Mark vi 28—54	106, 105
2	vi 54—vii 23	49, 50
3	vii 23—viii 14	81, 82
4	viii 14—38	187, 188
5	viii 38—ix 25	193, 194
6	ix 25—x 2	99, 100
7	x 2—27	51, 52
8	x 27—xi 1	116, 115
VII 1	Mark xi 1—27	56, 55
2	xi 27—xii 19	128, 127
3	xii 19—42	296, 295
4	xii 42—xiii 23	96, 95
5	xiii 24—xiv 10	23, 24
6	xiv 10—36	37, 38
7	xiv 36—63	86, 85
8	xiv 64—xv 19	286, 285
9	xv 19—47	134, 133
10 $\searrow$	xvi 1—Luke i 16	46, 45

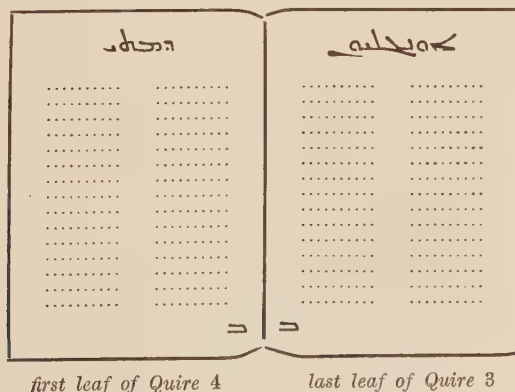


Ancient Quire and Leaf	Contents	Photographs (and pp. of MS)
VIII 1 [7]	Luke [i 16—38]	<i>missing</i>
2	i 38—73	183, 184
3	i 73—ii 18	276, 275
4	ii 18—40	157, 158
5	ii 40—iii 9	101, 102
6	iii 9—iv 1	119, 120
7	iv 1—26	143, 144
8	iv 26—v 6	266, 265
9	v 6—28	197, 198
10	[v 28—vi 11]	<i>missing</i>
IX 1	Luke vi 12—35	214, 213
2	vi 35—vii 6	94, 93
3	vii 7—28	205, 206
4	vii 28—viii 1	7, 8
5	viii 1—22	3, 4
6	viii 22—40	17, 18
7	viii 40—ix 6	13, 14
8	ix 6—27	215, 216
9	ix 27—49	88, 87
10 8	ix 49—x 11	208, 207
X 1 [9]	Luke x 11—33	243, 244
2	x 33—xi 13	9, 10
3	xi 13—32	125, 126
4	xi 32—52	132, 131
5	xi 52—xii 21	221, 222
6	xii 21—42	239, 240
7	xii 42—xiii 3	130, 129
8	xiii 3—22	135, 136
9	xiii 22—xiv 5	11, 12
10	xiv 5—23	257, 258
XI 1	Luke xiv 24—xv 12	103, 104
2	xv 13—xvi 2	162, 161
3	xvi 2—21	25, 26
4	xvi 21—xvii 9	65, 66
5	xvii 9—33	176, 175
6	xvii 33—xviii 16	166, 165
7	xviii 17—40	75, 76
8	xviii 40—xix 22	35, 36
9	xix 22—45	180, 179
10 [5]	xix 45—xx 21	117, 118

Ancient Quire and Leaf	Contents	Photographs (and pp. of ms)
XII 1 [α]	Luke xx 21—44	58, 57
2	xx 44—xxi 23	241, 242
3	xxi 23—xxii 8	169, 170
4	xxii 8—34	174, 173
5	xxii 34—59	78, 77
6	xxii 59—xxiii 14	64, 63
7	xxiii 14—38	168, 167
8	xxiii 38—xxiv 5	171, 172
9	xxiv 5—26	259, 260
10	xxiv 26—fin.	44, 43
XIII 1	John [i 1—25]	<i>missing</i>
2	i 25—47	203, 204
3	[i 47—ii 15]	<i>missing</i>
4	ii 16—iii 11	280, 279
5	iii 11—31	185, 186
6	iii 31—iv 15	195, 196
7	iv 15—37	262, 261
8	[iv 38—v 6]	<i>missing</i>
9	v 6—25	217, 218
10 [ι]	[v 25—46]	<i>missing</i>
XIV 1 [ι]	John v 46—vi 19	124, 123
2	vi 20—44	245, 246
3	vi 44—69	249, 250
4	vi 69—vii 21	247, 248
5	vii 21—39	32, 31
6	vii 39—viii 21	30, 29
7	viii 21—41	253, 254
8	viii 41—ix 1	251, 252
9	ix 1—21	255, 256
10	ix 21—x 1	138, 137
XV 1	John x 1—23	145, 146
2	x 23—xi 5	209, 210
3	xi 5—31	107, 108
4	xi 31—48	121, 122
5	xi 48—xii 7	139, 140
6	xii 7—28	113, 114
7	xii 28—49	211, 212
8 [ω]	xii 49—xiii 18	155, 156

Ancient Quire and Leaf		Contents	Photographs (and pp. of ms)
XVI	1 [ⲁ]	John xiii 19—xiv 1	21, 22
	2	xiv 1—24	5, 6
	3	xiv 24—xv 15	233, 234
	4	xv 15—xvi 10	238, 237
	5	xvi 10—32	224, 223
	6	xvi 32—xvii 20	227, 228
	7	xvii 20—xviii [24]	15, 16
	8	xviii 14—31	39, 40
XVII	1	John [xviii 31—	<i>missing</i>
	2	—	<i>missing</i>
	3	— xix 40]	<i>missing</i>
	4	xix 40—xx 17	263, 264
	5	xx 17—xxi 2	69, 70
	6	xxi 2—17	71, 72
	7	xxi 17—fin.	277, 278
	8	*	<i>missing</i>
	9	*	<i>missing</i>
	10 [ⲁ]	*	<i>missing</i>



A Table similar to the preceding is given in the Syndics' Edition, pp. xxx ff., but at that time not enough of the original signatures had been found to make clear upon what system they were inserted. The system actually employed is very curious. Instead of signing the first quire with ⲁ, the second with Ⲃ, and so on, either uniformly at the end or uniformly at the beginning of a quire, the scribe signed Quire 1 at the end with ⲁ and Quire 2 at the beginning with ⲁ, Quire 3 at the end with Ⲃ and Quire 4 at the beginning with Ⲃ, and so on. The signatures are in each case placed in the inner corner of the lower margin, thus :



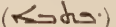
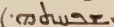
In the Table I have indicated all the places where signatures ought to occur, adding square brackets where the letter is not actually visible in the photograph.

In general appearance *S* is not unlike *C*. There is no title at all prefixed to S. Matthew: at least no reagent used has brought up even the faintest indication of a letter<sup>1</sup>. The writing begins on a *verso*, and the *recto* of that leaf (Photograph 163) was absolutely blank. At the end of S. John there is a colophon written by the original scribe, followed by a note in another almost contemporary hand, now unfortunately illegible: these will be discussed later in connexion with the heading to S. Matthew in *C*. There are no lectionary marks in *S* nor any numeration of chapters, but as in *C* the text is divided into sections, each section beginning with a new line. In many places the original hand has marked the end of sentences and even single clauses with a small point, but it is evident that this punctuation was somewhat irregular, even when due allowance is made for the loss of detached dots under the upper writing of the palimpsest. The writing is a very beautiful Estrangela, even more rapidly formed than that of *C*: it cannot be later than the beginning of the 5th century and is not inconsistent with an earlier date still. The vellum is now somewhat crinkled and in places rather brittle, partly owing to the washing process undergone in preparing the leaves to receive the later writing, partly owing to assiduous thumbing by readers of the lives of Female Saints. The washing process must have made the detached sheets of vellum quite limp, as in six instances (VI 1, 8; VII 2, 9; VIII 4, 7; XI 2, 9; XIV 1, 10; XVI 3, 6) the conjugate leaves are now folded the reverse way. On one or two pages the surface has a tendency to scale off<sup>2</sup>.

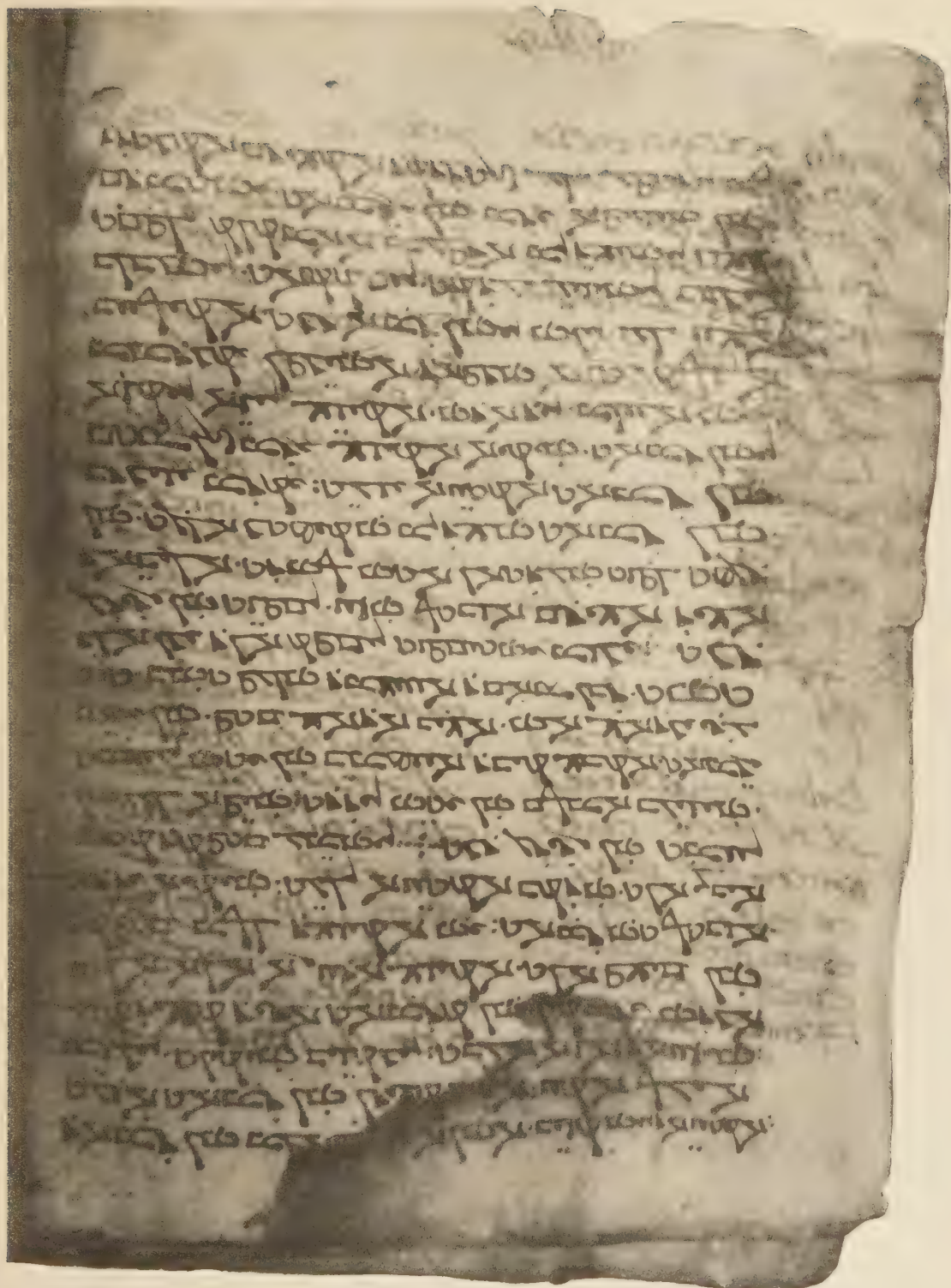
Each page contains two columns of writing, vertical lines for which were ruled with a stylus; the sharp point has often made a round dot at the end of these vertical lines, giving the appearance of punctuation at the beginning or end of the first and last lines of the columns<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> We should have expected at least  for a headline, since  occurs as the headline to the following *verso* (Photograph 112). See below, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot agree with Dr Harris's opinion (*Syndics' Edition*, p. xxv) that some pages have been scraped with a knife. But however this may be, it should be clearly stated that there is no evidence at all that *S* has been intentionally defaced in particular places for dogmatic reasons.




<sup>3</sup> E.g. Matt i 1 () and Mk vii 30 (). In each case the dot should be omitted.



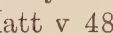








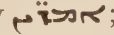
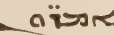


CODEx S, fol. 90 r, as now bound (Lk xix 32—45).



I cannot be sure whether horizontal lines were ruled to join the ends of the vertical lines, but certainly no other horizontal lines were ruled, and consequently the number of lines in a column varies even more than in *C*—from 29 in *S. Matthew* to 21 in *S. John*. I think that the whole MS is the work of one scribe, but the writing gradually became larger and the lines in a column fewer as the work progressed. The leaves now measure  $8\frac{5}{8}$  in. by  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in. There are generally only three words to a line, though in the earlier parts of the MS four words a line and in the later parts two words a line are not uncommon. The subscriptions to the Gospels and the colophon are in red. The headlines consist of  on the *verso* and  (or the corresponding name) on the *recto*; it seems to have been intended to insert them on every page, but in many instances they are no longer legible<sup>1</sup>. The sign  is placed in Lk xii 18, xxi 15, xxiv 4, to fill up blank spaces at the end of lines where no pause was intended, but in Matt ix 25 and Joh xiv 31 a horizontal stroke is used for the purpose.

The very few corrections visible in *S* seem all to have been made by the original scribe and arise from the ordinary accidents of transcription, not from the use of a second exemplar. Words accidentally repeated or inserted are deleted by means of dots in Mk vi 18, Lk xiv 12; Joh iii 8 and x 13. In Lk xxi 24 , the dot indicates that the word should be . Words and letters accidentally dropped are inserted by the original scribe between the lines in Matt v 48 , Lk xii 43 , Joh xiii 16 , and two steps in the Genealogy Lk iii 33; also Mk xii 1 , Lk xvii 23 . If I have rightly conjectured, the word  was inserted in this way between Lk ix 17 and 18. A few letters have here and there been corrected by the first hand: instances occur Matt ix 20, xx 23, Mk iii 14.

The only orthographical signs found in *S*, with the exception of  (*sic*) in Mk xv 29, are the *seyâmê* marks for the plural. These seem hardly ever to have been dropped, though now the dots are often illegible. In addition to their regular use over nouns they are used for the numerals and for the present participle, especially ; sometimes they occur where they are not wanted, e.g.  Lk viii 56, and

<sup>1</sup> At the head of xi 1 *r* (Photograph 103)  is written, apparently by mistake.





This is not mere verbiage, but an attempt to render the Greek preposition *κατά*. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshê* had been content to render *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Λουκᾶν* by *Evangel of Luke*, but the Peshitta wishes to emphasize the fact that it is not the 'Gospel of Luke' but the 'Gospel according to Luke.' Besides this, most codices of the Peshitta prefix 'Holy' to 'Gospel' and add the reputed places where the several Gospels were composed, after the manner of many Greek minuscules<sup>1</sup>.

The end of *C* is not preserved, but we read in *S* at the end of S. John

ܐܠܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ | ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ | ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ | ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ  
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ | ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ | ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ | ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ  
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ | ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ | ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ | ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ  
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ | ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ | ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ | ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

*Endeth the Evangelion da-Mêpharrêshê, Four Volumes*<sup>3</sup>. *Glory to God and to His Messiah and to His holy Spirit. Every one that readeth and heareth and keepeth and doeth it pray for the sinner that wrote; God in His compassion forgive him his sins in both worlds. Amen and Amen.*

This colophon is noteworthy for two reasons. In the first place it distinctly describes *S* as a copy of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, the Evangel of (or, 'according to') the Separated, i.e. the Gospels divided into the four volumes of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and not mixed together as in the Diatessaron. The importance of this will be especially felt when we come to emend the not fully preserved title in *C*. But the way the Three Persons of the Trinity are mentioned is even more remarkable. It is not exactly unorthodox, for the co-ordination of the Three Persons by a simple AND was the watchword of orthodoxy<sup>4</sup>, but it is unusual to find the Holy Spirit treated as feminine in these

<sup>1</sup> *Matt* is said to have been written in Hebrew in Palestine; *Mk* in Latin at Rome; *Lk* in Greek at Alexandria; *John* in Greek at Ephesus: see Gwilliam's *Tetraevangelium*, pp. 194, 314, 478, 604.

<sup>2</sup> The scribe apparently wrote ܡܫܝܚܐ, by a slip of the pen.

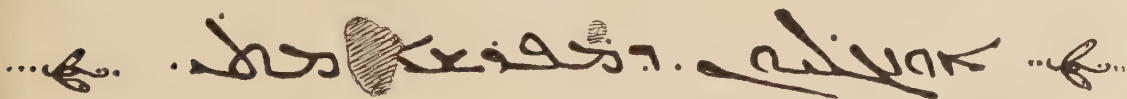
<sup>3</sup> That we should read *sefrîn* 'volumes,' and not *sâfrîn* 'scribes,' is clear from the colophons to the *Theophania* in Lee's MS (B.M. Add. 12150, dated 411 AD). Thus at the end of the *Theophania* we find ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, i.e. *Endeth writing the Five Volumes of Eusebius*.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Gibbon ii 382.



the other hand, has a title. It is unfortunately mutilated by two small holes, and before the term *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had been well established as the native name of the 'Old Syriac' version some controversy had been raised as to the reading of the words and their interpretation.

The title in *C*, as now preserved, is



The writing is in vermillion ink which has turned silver through damp. There is no room for a complete letter between the second and third word, but as the first and the second are separated by a dot, it is almost certain that a dot stood also in the gap between the second and third. The dots over the middle of the first and third words are merely placed there for ornament, but the dot over the ܡ in the second word is unsymmetrical. It is therefore not placed for ornament but for use: we must therefore suppose that it is part of the plural sign (*seyâmê*). It is one of the peculiarities of the scribe of *C* that he frequently avoids making the *seyâmê* dots coalesce with the dot on a ܝ, i.e. he was as likely to have written ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܗܪܪܝܫܐ as the more regular form ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܗܪܪܝܫܐ<sup>1</sup>. I have therefore no hesitation in restoring the title thus:

ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܗܪܪܝܫܐ ܡܬܬܝܐ

*Evangelion da-Mëpharrëshê. Matthew.*

The construction is the same as in the colophon of *S*, where we read "Ev. da-Mepharreshe, *Four Books*," not "*according to the Four*." Before it had been clearly made out that *Evangelion da-Mëpharrëshê* was the name given by Syriac-speaking Christians to the Four Gospels as distinguished from the Diatessaron, it was supposed that ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ in the title to *C* had some special reference to S. Matthew or to the Gospel of Matthew. But although the construction given above is certainly somewhat harsh there can be little doubt that it is correct, now that the Sinai Palimpsest definitely speaks of all four Gospels under the name of ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܗܪܪܝܫܐ.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in Matt iii 5 *C* writes ܡܬܬܝܐ ܕܡܦܗܪܪܝܫܐ





There are however a few cases where *S* and *C* agree in an interesting punctuation, notably in having a stop after ܠܚܒܐ, at the end of Joh vii 37. In this they differ from the earlier Latin tradition, represented by the Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, by Codex Bezae, by Cod. Palatinus (*e*) and by the *Speculum* p. (700). According to this Latin interpretation, the first words of Joh vii 38 *qui credit in me* go with *bibat* at the end of the preceding verse, and the 'living waters' flow not from the believer but from Christ Himself. The fact that *S* and *C* have a stop at the end of ver. 37 shews that the Old Syriac Version rendered the verse as it is rendered in the English Bible and by the great majority of interpreters, ancient and modern. The agreement of *S* and *C* in so widespread an interpretation proves very little as to the origin of their punctuation.

As to the second point, the alleged agreement of *S* and *C* in their division into lines, it might seem sufficient to call to mind the great textual differences between these two mss. *S* and *C* differ on matters of such fundamental importance, that it is difficult to believe that there can be any significance in their occasional agreement in the division of the text into lines. But the matter does not rest upon general probabilities. We have to consider the nature of Syriac script and its important differences from Greek script. Greek mss of the 4th and 5th centuries were written with no spaces between the words, and no scruple was felt about dividing the words at the end of a line. Thus the number of words in a line varied greatly, but the number of syllables was approximately constant, e.g. cod.  $\Sigma$  averages about six syllables in a line, cod. B about seven or eight. In a pair of such mss it would be exceedingly improbable that the lines should coincide. There are so many ways of lawfully dividing most Greek words that marked examples of coincidence for several lines together could not be regarded as the result of a mere accident. But Syriac writing is quite different. The words are separated by spaces, as in modern English, and they are never divided at the end of a line. Consequently the average number of syllables in a short Syriac line varies very greatly, but the average number of words is constant. Now *S* and *C*, like all other known early Syriac mss, are written in short lines, with only three words on the average to a line. Whenever therefore they start level, as at the beginning of a paragraph, there is every probability that they will go on agreeing line for line, unless an actual variation in text occurs, such as the omission of one or two words. For example, to take the first passage on Mrs Lewis's list, it is true that both *S* and *C* give Matt v 3 thus :—

ܠܚܒܐ ܠܚܒܐ  
ܠܚܒܐ ܠܚܒܐ  
ܠܚܒܐ ܠܚܒܐ

But how otherwise should the lines be divided? If the scribe did not end the first line at ܠܚܒܐ he would have to get ܠܚܒܐ into the space. And indeed, as if to shew that this line-division in Syriac mss is a matter of absolute indifference, we find the very same division of this verse in such codices of the Peshitta as B.M. Add. 17117, although naturally B.M. Add. 17117 reads ܠܚܒܐ instead of ܠܚܒܐ. Moreover, when once the line-agreement of *S* and *C* is disturbed, it remains disturbed, e.g. in Matt v 10 we have

<i>C</i>	<i>S</i>
ܐܠܗܝܡ ܠܟܠܡ ܕܕܝܢܝܢ	ܐܠܗܝܡ ܠܟܠܡ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ	ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ	ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ	ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ

The fact that *S* and *C* often take exactly the same number of lines to get through three or four verses is thus merely another way of stating that the lines in each MS are of much the same breadth, but the nature of Syriac script robs this circumstance of the significance which it might have had in a pair of Greek MSS. I have therefore not thought it worth while in this edition to keep any record of the line-divisions either of *S* or of *C*.

Had the occasional agreement of *S* and *C* in their division of the text into lines possessed the significance suggested by Mrs Lewis, we should have been compelled to regard *S* and *C* as direct descendants of the same exemplar. Besides this, it would have been reasonable to assume that these agreements were intentional and that they had something to do with an early system of Syriac stichometry. Dr Harris had found at Sinai a 9th cent. MS of miscellaneous contents which contained among other reckonings an enumeration of the number of ܡܠܟܐ in the Four Gospels. Now there are two systems of reckoning found in various Greek MSS of the Gospel; we have enumerations sometimes of the *στίχοι*, sometimes of the *ῥήματα*, sometimes of both. A *στίχος* is a line of a given length, or rather of a given average number of syllables, e.g. a half-hexameter. If therefore the number of *στίχοι* in a work is known, and the number of lines in a column be constant, it is easy by counting the number of columns at once to ascertain whether a MS is approximately complete. In fact, the use of the numeration of *στίχοι* (Lat. *versus*) is to guard the buyers of books against fraud. The meaning of *ῥήματα* in enumerations is not so clear. The word ܡܠܟܐ may stand either for *στίχος* or *ῥήμα*, and Dr Harris brought forward a theory, which found many supporters, that in the case before us ܡܠܟܐ was a translation of *στίχοι*, and *ῥήματα* a retranslation of ܡܠܟܐ. In other words, the Greek enumeration of *στίχοι* had been adapted to the Syriac version and the numbers so transformed had been retranslated into Greek under the name of *ῥήματα*. An additional confirmation of the theory seemed to come from the presence of certain readings which agreed with the Old Syriac in the 'Ferrar group' of Greek MSS, and the 'Ferrar group' were among the MSS that contained the reckoning of *ῥήματα*<sup>1</sup>.

Attractive as this theory appears at first sight, it breaks down under close examination from the Syriac side. If the *ῥήματα* system had a Syriac origin it must obviously have been a system intended for the 'Old Syriac,' i.e. the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The coincidences noted by Dr Harris between the Ferrar group and Syriac readings were with readings of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or of Tatian's Diatessaron, not of the Peshitta. But the Syriac MSS which contain the ܡܠܟܐ are all of them late—the earliest witness is not anterior to the 9th century—and in at least two cases these lists contain figures for the full Greek Canon of the seven Catholic Epistles, a circumstance

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Harris, *On the origin of the Ferrar Group* (1893), pp. 9, 17 ff.

which suggests a Greek origin for the whole system<sup>1</sup>. Moreover early Syriac mss, and especially *S* and *C*, are singularly ill adapted to form the basis of stichometrical calculations. Neither in *S* nor in *C* are horizontal lines ruled for writing, so that the number of lines in a column, even in parallel columns on the same page, varies considerably, and to ascertain the number of lines occupied by either of the Gospels in *S* or *C* it would be necessary to inspect each page of the ms.

The *ῥήματα* system appears in some Latin mss of the Vulgate about the same time as the earliest evidence for it in Syriac: the same reckonings seem to underlie the famous 4th century *Cheltenham List*, so that *ῥήματα* might equally well be a translation of *uersus* as of *ܥܠܝܬܐ*. But whatever be the origin of these *ῥήματα* there is no tangible evidence to connect them with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*; on the contrary, there are many indications that the scribes of *S* and *C* were not familiar either with the *ῥήματα* or any other system of stichometry.

With regard to the third point raised by Mrs Lewis, *viz.* the division of *S* and *C* into paragraphs, the evidence is not as clear as might be wished. There would be every probability that the paragraph system in a pair of mss such as *S* and *C* should go back, in part at least, to a common origin. But here again we are hampered by the ambiguity of Syriac writing. Both in *S* and in *C* a fresh paragraph starts at the beginning of a line. The preceding line will in many cases be short, and the end of the paragraph is thus clearly marked either by the blank space at the end of the short line or by a stop. When the end of a paragraph happened to occur at the end of a full line it seems to have been the general intention of the scribes to leave a blank space, e.g. after Matt xiii 43 *S*. But this blank space is not always left. When therefore the end of a paragraph comes at the end of a line it is often impossible to determine whether the next line was intended to begin a new paragraph or not. This happens very frequently, for on the average there are only three words to a line. In something like one case out of ten therefore the same word will end a line both in *S* and in *C*, whether a paragraph be intended to end there or not. And if a word is known to end the line in the one ms, the chances are one to two that it will also end the line in the other. This being the case it needs clear instances of agreement in quite peculiar divisions to prove that the paragraphs in *S* and *C* belong to the same system.

Now as a matter of fact *S* and *C* very often do not agree in their paragraph divisions. If we take from Matt i 1 to vi 10 (where *S* breaks off owing to the loss of a couple of leaves) we find that paragraphs clearly end in *C*, but not in *S*, before

- Matt ii 14 (Now Joseph arose...)
- 16 (Then Herod, when he saw...)
- 22 (Now when Joseph heard...)
- iii 1 (And in those days came John the Baptist...)
- iv 17 (From then Jesus began to preach...)
- 21 (And when he removed thence...)
- v 25 (Be agreed with thy adversary...)
- 48 (Become therefore perfect...)

<sup>1</sup> See the Note by the present writer on the Gospel *ῥήματα* found in Syriac mss (*Journ. of Theol. Studies*, ii 429 ff).



On the other hand paragraphs end in *S*, but not in *C*, before

- Matt iv 1 ('Then Jesus was led by the Spirit...')  
 25 (And when there was a great multitude...)  
 v 31 (It hath been said 'He that leaveth his wife...')  
 43 (Ye have heard that it hath been said...)  
 vi 9<sup>b</sup> (Our Father in heaven...)

It will hardly be denied that here we have considerable variation. It is indeed quite surprising that *S* should not make Matt iii 1 begin a paragraph and that *C* should not make Matt iv 1 begin a paragraph<sup>1</sup>. Much the same state of things is to be found in other parts of the Gospels. For instance Lk xii 32 begins a paragraph in *C*, but not in *S*; on the other hand, Joh viii 12 begins in *C* on the same line as the last words of vii 52, but in *S* there is a fresh paragraph. These grave divergences suggest that the systems of paragraph division in *S* and *C* may have been developed quite independently<sup>2</sup>.

In conclusion I will quote some words of Mr G. H. Gwilliam upon the paragraph divisions in MSS of the Peshitta, which have a real bearing upon the question before us. Mr Gwilliam says "evidence of the independence of these MSS [of the Peshitta] appears in the different arrangement of the paragraphs of the sacred text in the different copies. In some the paragraphs are numerous; in others few, and differently placed. For example, in *S*, Matt x the Cod. 14459 makes a break in our Lord's discourse at the end of verse 10, and seems to stand alone in so doing. In *c*, xi it makes its division at the end of verse 1, thus not so distinctly connecting the message of the Baptist with the preaching of Christ recorded in verse 1, as do other authorities. And similarly in other MSS divisions are constantly made, more or less arbitrarily, according to the fashion of some scribe or school" (*Studia Biblica* i 166). "Besides the formal sections, the text is often interrupted in the best MSS, where the sense requires a break; and these paragraphs are often made with much judgement" (*Studia Biblica* iii 81). If even the MSS of the Peshitta Gospels shew independence in their paragraph divisions we shall not be surprised if the MSS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* exhibit wide divergence.

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worth notice that the Latin Cod. Bobiensis (*k*) has no fresh paragraph at Matt iii 1, although like *S* it has a fresh paragraph at the *Pater noster*. But elsewhere *S* and *k* do not exhibit much in common in their system of text division.

<sup>2</sup> The chief instance of marked agreement between *S* and *C* in this matter is the division of each Beatitude in Matt v into a separate paragraph. Each parable in Matt xiii is similarly divided.







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## CHAPTER II.

### GRAMMAR AND SYNTAX.

#### GRAMMATICAL PECULIARITIES OF *S* AND *C*.

It was long the fate of the 'Curetonian' to be praised for its defects and slighted for its merits, and in no point was this treatment more marked than in the matter of its grammatical features. The defenders of its antiquity too often based their case upon points of grammar and spelling which *C* shares with ancient Peshitta MSS, while many of the real peculiarities have remained hardly noticed to this day. Even more absurd was the contention that the 'Curetonian' was older than the Peshitta on the ground that the rougher and less polished version, as the 'Curetonian' was declared to be, must on this ground have preceded the more regular and grammatical. It is true that the Peshitta follows Greek idiom much more closely than its rival, though without the pedantic servility of the Harclean; and this circumstance undoubtedly renders it extremely unlikely that it should be older than the text represented by Cureton's MS. But it will be well at the outset clearly to state that neither the text of the Curetonian nor that of the Sinai Palimpsest can be described as in any degree barbarous or uncultured. Apart from a few corruptions in the text, such as might befall MSS of Demosthenes or Cicero, both *S* and *C* are written in the most idiomatic Syriac. Our two MSS are themselves very ancient, and the text which they present is doubtless much more ancient still; hence the transmitted text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is full of peculiarities of grammar and spelling which are hardly to be met elsewhere in Syriac literature, or are found only in the oldest and best preserved works. But there is no question of dialectical variety or of rustic idiom. On the contrary, every indication shews that the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* used the vernacular Syriac of Edessa with the simplicity

and ease which come only from literary training, coupled (as one is tempted to add) with the prevalence of a sound standard of taste. Few prose translations surpass the *Evangelion du-Mepharreshe* in literary excellence.

In this chapter I have followed the order of the sections of Nöldeke's Syriac Grammar, noting the more important peculiarities under each section. In transliterating I have used Greek letters for the aspirated sounds of ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ.

### Spelling.

*S* and *C* are on the whole regular in spelling apart from words where the form is really different from that generally found.

[Nöldeke § 4.] ܐܐ and ܐܐܐ occur frequently for ܐ and ܐܐ, especially when there is plenty of space in the line. On the other hand *S* often writes ܐܐܐ, ܐܐܐ, ܐܐܐ (Matt xxvii 61), at the end of a line ܐܐܐܐ is three times written ܐܐܐ (Mk x 32, Lk xix 36, Joh xiv 6)<sup>1</sup>, and we even find ܐܐܐܐ for ܐܐܐܐܐ in Lk xiii 3. In this point *C* is more regular, though ܐܐܐܐ is found for ܐܐܐܐܐ in *C*, e.g. Lk xiii 4 (at the end of a line). The defective spelling ܐܐܐܐ Matt xxii 19 *S* (*sic*, for ܐܐܐܐܐ) must be a mere slip of the pen<sup>2</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 35.] Radical ܐ is not unfrequently dropped in *S*, and sometimes also in *C*, when the letter is practically unpronounced. Thus we find ܐܐܐ in Matt xxiv 2 *S*, Mk xiii 2 *S*, Lk viii 51 *S*, Lk xii 41 *C*, etc., and in *S* even ܐܐ for ܐܐܐ in Lk [ii 15, and] ix 51. In Lk xiv 16 *C*, Joh vii 31 *C*, Joh xviii 2 *S* ܐܐܐܐ occurs for ܐܐܐܐܐ at the end of a line. But the insertion of ܐ in such words as ܐܐܐܐ, ܐܐܐܐ, never occurs either in *S* or *C*, with the single exception of ܐܐܐܐ | ܐܐܐܐ Lk xvi 18 *S*, where the intrusive ܐ in the first word is perhaps only due to a slip<sup>3</sup>. The curious form ܐܐܐܐܐ found in Mk iii 11, Lk x 34 *S*, is noticed below on Nöldeke § 77.

<sup>1</sup> ܐܐܐܐ occurs Matt xx 30 in Mr Gwilliam's cod. 36.

<sup>2</sup> The same is probably true of ܐܐܐ for ܐܐܐܐ in Joh x 9<sup>b</sup> *S*. It is noteworthy that many of the words from which a ܐ is dropped in *S* are words in which another ܐ occurs. Misspellings of another kind are ܐܐܐܐܐ Mk vi 9 *S* and ܐܐܐܐܐܐܐ Mk vii 22 *S*.

<sup>3</sup> This incorrect insertion of ܐ is not much found before the 9th century and then only in Jacobite MSS, e.g. *Cod. Crawfordianus* 2 of the 12th cent. Along with many other late and incorrect forms it found its way into early editions of the Peshitta.

[Nöldeke § 50 B.] The unpronounced **o** and **u** at the ends of words are very rarely left out in *S* and *C*. In Joh iv 7 *C* has **ܐܠܐܡ**, but the correct spelling **ܐܠܐܡܐ** is found in *v.* 10 and in *S*<sup>2/2</sup>. The majority of the mss of syr.vg have **ܐܠܐܡ**: probably the phrase was regarded as a single word. In Matt xiv 16 **ܐܡܠܐܡܐ** is correctly written in all the mss.

[Nöldeke § 51.] Prosthetic **κ** before *r* is common both in *S* and in *C*, e.g. in Matt i 5 'Ruth' is spelt **ܪܗܠܝܐ** in *C*, while *S* has **ܪܗܠܝ**. In Joh xx 12 the curious phrase for 'at the foot-place' is written **ܠܬܝܬܐ** in *S*, i.e. *min arylé*. In the Peal of **ܕܒܝ** 'to ride' we find **ܕܒܝܐܡܐ** Matt xxi 5 *C* and **ܕܒܝܐܡܐ** Mk xi 7 *S*. This use of prosthetic **κ** even after **o** explains the spelling of **ܪܗܠܝܐ** Lk ii 14 *S*: **ܪܗܠܝܐ** (= *εὐδοκία*) was probably so spelt in this passage in order more effectually to distinguish it from **ܪܗܠܝܐ**, i.e. *rá'awáθá* 'shepherds,' a word which occurs four times in the immediate context<sup>1</sup>.

It may be mentioned here that *S* has **ܪܗܠܝܐ** in Matt ix 16 and **ܪܗܠܝܐ** in Mk ii 21 for the word which is usually spelt **ܪܗܠܝܐ** 'a patch<sup>2</sup>.' In each case *S* is supported by Gwilliam's cod. 23 and some other evidence. *C* is not extant in either place.

In Matt vii 13 *C* has **ܪܗܠܝܐ** (hiat *S*), but Mr Gwilliam has adopted **ܪܗܠܝܐܐ** on excellent authority.

### Pronouns.

[Nöldeke § 63.] **ܐܡܐ** is the form commonly used both in *S* and in *C*. **ܐܡܐ** only seems to occur twice in *S*, viz. Lk vii 20, xix 14, but it is found more often in *C*, e.g. Matt xix 27, xx 18, xxii 16; Lk xi 4.

[Nöldeke § 64.] The contracted forms of the 1st pers. sing. masc. such as **ܐܡܐ**, **ܐܡܐ**, are more common both in *S* and in *C* than the uncontracted forms **ܐܡܐܐܐ**, **ܐܡܐܐܐܐ**. In the fem. we find **ܐܡܐܐ** Joh xi 22 *S*, Joh xx 14 *S*, but **ܐܡܐܐܐ** Joh xi 24 *S*: either form is of course pronounced *yáδ'áná*<sup>3</sup>, while the masc. is *yáða'ná*. **ܐܡܐܐܐܐ** occurs Joh xi 27 *S*.

<sup>1</sup> The pronunciation of **ܪܗܠܝܐ** I suppose to have been *ar'áθá*: comp. **ܪܗܠܝܐ** Ezr v 17, vii 18, and in Syriac **ܪܗܠܝܐ**.

<sup>2</sup> So also **ܪܗܠܝܐ** A<sup>a</sup> 365, agreeing with *S*, but A<sup>b</sup> has **ܪܗܠܝܐ**.

<sup>3</sup> Mr Gwilliam edits **ܐܡܐܐܐܐ** in Joh xi 24, **ܐܡܐܐܐܐܐ** in Joh xx 14.





## Nouns.

[Nöldeke § 71, 4.] The fem. pl. emph. of ܐܪܒܐ is generally spelt ܐܪܒܐ in *S* as in all other Syriac mss. But in Lk xxii 65 the word is very distinctly written ܐܪܒܐ<sup>1</sup>. This might represent a pronunciation *saggiáthá* (instead of *saggi'áthá*), but it is probably a mere slip of the pen.

[Nöldeke § 74.] The plural of ܐܬܝܠܐ is uniformly ܐܬܝܠܐ when used as a substantive, including Lk xii 11 *S*. But as a predicate we find ܐܬܝܠܐ in Matt xx 25 *C* (*hiat S*) and in Lk xx 25 *S*: in the last passage *C* has even ܐܬܝܠܐ. In Mk iii 15 *S* has ܐܬܝܠܐ.

[Nöldeke § 77.] The plural of ܐܬܝܠܐ 'wound' should be ܐܬܝܠܐ, i.e. *mahwáthá*, as in Lk x 34 *C*, vii 21 *S C*, xii 48 *S C*. But *S* in Mk iii 11, Lk x 34, has ܐܬܝܠܐ, i.e. *m'hawáthá*, like *š'lawáthá* from *š'lóthá* 'prayer.' That it was not treated as masc. appears from the context of Lk x 34 *S*, where we read ... ܐܬܝܠܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܝܠܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܬܝܠܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ. The grammatical interest of this form, thus doubly attested for *S*, is that it throws some doubt upon the complete sufficiency of the grammatical tradition of the Syrians. Ancient Syriac mss are not vocalised, and the grammatical traditions upon which our Syriac grammars are based is essentially a series of directions for the pronunciation of the Bible in Church. In the same way the Massoretic vocalisation of the Hebrew text gives the Synagogue chant. But these official schemes do not allow for all varieties of pronunciation and they have a tendency to reduce what was varied and fluid in the living language to the uniformity of a cast-iron pattern.

Many of the niceties of Syriac grammar depend on the vocalisation alone, and divergent forms may be hid under the regular consonantal spelling of ancient mss. Thus in the present case ܐܬܝܠܐ may represent equally well *mahwáthá* and *m'hawáthá*. But ܐܬܝܠܐ cannot stand for *mahwáthá*; there must be with this spelling a vowel between *h* and *w*. But if the scribe of *S* spelt the word ܐܬܝܠܐ in Mk iii 11 and Lk x 34, he probably pronounced ܐܬܝܠܐ as *m'hawáthá* in Lk xii 48

<sup>1</sup> See *facsimile* to the Syndics' Edition, last line of col. *a*.

and elsewhere. It would be interesting to trace the usage of this word and others of the same sort in the earlier poets<sup>1</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 79 B.] The plural of ܠܚܐ in *S C* is ܠܚܐܝܬܐ, except in Lk xxi 13 (14) where both mss have ܠܚܐܝܬܐ.

[Nöldeke § 87.] ܠܚܐ 'word' is always fem. in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. By a usage which derived its authority from Theology rather than Grammar, the Peshitta always makes ܠܚܐ masc. when it means 'the Word' in the Johannine sense. *S* is unfortunately missing for the opening verses of the Fourth Gospel, but in *C*, supported by Aphraates and by Ephraim, we read ܠܚܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ 'the Word became a body and She sojourned with us<sup>2</sup>.' So also in the *Acts of Thomas* 241 we find ܠܚܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ 'the Word, Mistress of all.'

ܠܚܐ 'spirit' is also fem. in *S* and *C*. In the Peshitta it is frequently treated as masc. when it means the Holy Spirit. But the Holy Spirit is fem. in *S* and *C*: even in Joh xiv we find ܠܚܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ 'the Spirit, the Paraclete...She will teach you<sup>3</sup>.' That this usage was not wholly a matter of grammatical inflexion, but had also an influence in theological teaching is clear from Aphraates 354, where that ancient writer asserts that the Father and Mother whom a man leaves when he marries a wife are God and the Holy Spirit.

In one passage, ܠܚܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ Lk viii 29 *S C*, an *unclean* spirit is treated as masc., but probably in this passage ܠܚܐ is a correction for ܠܚܐ 'devil': τῷ δαιμονίῳ instead of τῷ πνεύματι is read in *D* and in *e* of the Old Latin<sup>4</sup>.

The word ܠܚܐ is used in Syriac both as sing. and plur. for 'heaven' and 'heavens,' and in the sing. it is sometimes masc. and

<sup>1</sup> Alone of course it would be in any case a word of three syllables. But the spelling of *S* would be greatly supported if an instance of ܠܚܐܝܬܐ or ܠܚܐܝܬܐ could be found where the verse required four syllables. Possibly the irregular spelling indicates that the third radical still had some consonantal force. The root is מוחה for מוחע, corresponding to مخض and موحن.

<sup>2</sup> For the exact meaning of ܠܚܐ see the Note on the passage.

<sup>3</sup> *C* is here partly defective but ܠܚܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ is clear.

<sup>4</sup> In Joh iii 6 *C* adds at the end of the verse

ܠܚܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ

But *S* has only ܠܚܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ 'because God is a living (m.) Spirit.' The word ܠܚܐ is unfortunately not very clear, but I think it is correctly read, otherwise we might conjecture ܠܚܐ. In any case it is a sentence where a feminine adjective would be very harsh.

sometimes fem. In *S* and *C* ܠܡܠܚ is always masc. pl. when it is the subject of a verb. The ‘heavens’ are opened (Matt iii 16, Lk iii 24) or are shut (Lk iv 24), and ‘they’ are the throne of God (Matt v 34): in the last instance syr.vg has the sing. masc. But in other cases ܠܡܠܚ is sing. masc. in *S* and sing. fem. in *C*. Thus the phrase “from one end of the world to the other” is rendered

ܠܡܠܚ ܡܝܠ ܠܡܠܚ ܠܡܝܠ ܡܝܠ<sup>1</sup> ܡ Mk xiii 27 *S*

ܡܝܠ ܠܡܠܚ ܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐ ,ܡܠܝ ܡ Lk xvii 24 *S*

Here as elsewhere *S* does not insert the diacritic point which distinguishes *rêsheh* (m.) from *rêshâh* (f.), but the suffix of ,ܡܠܝ in the second passage shews that ܠܡܠܚ is treated as masc. In Mk *C* is missing, but we find

ܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐ ܠܡܠܚܐ ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡ Lk xvii 24 *C*

in which ܠܡܠܚ is sing. fem. In Matt xi 25 *S C* and syr.vg (with syr.vg also in Lk x 21) ‘Lord of heaven and earth’ is rendered ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐ, whereby the gender of ܠܡܠܚ is not indicated; in Lk x 21 *S* and *C*\* have ‘ܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐ’, but a corrector of *C* has added a dot in red over the ܡ, thereby making ܠܡܠܚ fem.

Elsewhere the gender and number of ܠܡܠܚ is carefully left indeterminate. The ‘kingdom of God’ is sometimes ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܐܠܡܐ sometimes ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ, but the ‘kingdom of Heaven’ is always ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ, except in the few instances where the construct state is used, an idiom which also leaves the gender and number of ܠܡܠܚ doubtful<sup>2</sup>. Neither ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ nor ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ ever occurs in Syriac literature, so far as I know.

Similarly the Birds of Heaven are ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ Matt vi 26, viii 20, etc.; the Clouds of Heaven are ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ<sup>[.]</sup> Matt xxiv 30 *S*, xxvi 64 *S*, or ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ Mk xiv 62 *S*; the Angels of Heaven are ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ, or ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ Matt xxiv 36, or ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ Lk xv 10 *A*; and the Powers of Heaven are ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ Matt xxiv 29 *S*, Mk xiii 25 *S* (*sic*)<sup>3</sup>, or ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ Lk xxi 26 *S C*.

It is worthy of note that the construction of ܠܡܠܚ is the same for

<sup>1</sup> ܡܠܚ (so I read the photograph): *S<sup>ed</sup>* has ܠܡܠܚ. In this verse syr.vg makes ܠܡܠܚ fem. sing.

<sup>2</sup> ܠܡܠܚܐ ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ occurs Matt vii 21 *C*, xiii 52 *S*, xviii 3 *A* 221, xix 23 *C* 4392.

<sup>3</sup> Not ܡܠܚܐܠܡܐ as *S<sup>ed</sup>*. Syr.vg has ܠܡܠܚ in Matt and Lk, ܠܡܠܚܐ in Mk.

rendering *οὐρανὸς* and *οὐρανοί*. Thus in the Greek of Matt iii 16 the word is plural; in the parallel passage Lk iii 21, in Lk iv 24, and in Matt v 34, the word is used in the singular.

The word ܠܚܥܐ 'branch,' pl. ܠܚܥܐ, is not marked in *Nöldeke* § 87 as of common gender. But both in Matt xxiv 32 and in Mk xiii 28 *S* has ܠܚܥܐ ܕܥܝܢ ܠܚܥܐ 'when its branches have become tender.' *C* unfortunately is not extant for either passage, and in Matt xxiv 32 syr.vg. has ܠܚܥܐ, i.e. fem. pl. This is also the reading adopted by Mr Gwilliam in Mk xiii 28, but the Nestorian Massora (Mas. 1), with one of the Jacobite Massoretic codices (Mas. 4) and three ancient mss (7 11 21) all read ܕܥܝܢ as in *S* (*sic*), thereby making ܠܚܥܐ masc. in the plural.

[*Nöldeke* § 98 c.] ܠܚܥܐ occurs Matt i 19 *S* and ܠܚܥܐ Joh v 30 *C*. ܠܚܥܐ and ܠܚܥܐ are about equally common, as is usually the case in ancient Syriac mss.

[*Nöldeke* § 100.] For ܠܚܥܐ, see on *Nöldeke* § 77.

[*Nöldeke* § 103.] ܠܚܥܐ ܠܚܥܐ occurs Mk viii 3 *S*, Lk xvi 23 *S*. The absolute and construct of ܠܚܥܐ are otherwise unknown. On the analogy of ܠܚܥܐ and ܠܚܥܐ, we may suppose the pronunciation to have been *ruḥaq*.

[*Nöldeke* § 117.] ܠܚܥܐ Matt viii 12 *S* must be a mere scribal error for ܠܚܥܐ, like ܠܚܥܐ Lk xix 44 *S* for ܠܚܥܐ.

[*Nöldeke* § 127\*.] For the formation of ܠܚܥܐ (= εὐδοκία) Lk ii 14 *S*, see on *Nöldeke* § 51.

[*Nöldeke* § 128 A.] ܠܚܥܐ Lk xix 44 *S* must be a scribal error for ܠܚܥܐ. The very peculiar rendering ܠܚܥܐ for τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου is attested by *C* and Aphraates 412, and it is possible that the misspelling in *S* may come from an unskilful correction in its exemplar.

[*Nöldeke* § 135.] The words for 'Galilee' and 'Galilaean' are irregular in *S*. In *C*, as in other Syriac documents, ܠܚܥܐ is 'Galilee,' ܠܚܥܐ 'a man of Galilee.' But in Matt xxvi 69, Mk xiv 70, Lk xxii 59, *S* has ܠܚܥܐ for 'Galilaean.' The plural is spelt ܠܚܥܐ in Lk xiii 1, 2, and also in Lk xvii 11 apparently. To make the irregularity yet more conspicuous *S* has ܠܚܥܐ in Lk xxiii 5, 6, for 'Galilee.'

[*Nöldeke* § 145.] The possessive suffixes to Nouns offer in *S* no peculiarities, but the spelling ܠܚܥܐ occurs in *C* twice (Matt xi 2,



Joh iv 8) for ,ܡܡܝܬܬܐ. This spelling is also found in most varieties of Palestinian Aramaic, so that possibly it was once not uncommon in Edessene.

[Nöldeke § 146 : *the anomalous Nouns.*]

ܐܒܐ.—The ordinary form for ‘my father,’ viz. ܐܒܐ, is usual both in *S* and *C*. But in Matt x 32 *C*, xv 13 *S*, Lk ii 49 *C*, Joh vi 32 *C*, we find ܐܒܐ, although no Greek ms omits *μὸν*. In Matt vi 4 *S* also we find ܐܒܐ, where *C* in agreement with the Greek has ܐܒܐ. It is true that in none of the cases are both *S* and *C* agreed, but on the other hand the same interchange of ܐܒܐ and ܐܒܐ is occasionally found in the mss of syr.vg. I have noted ܐܒܐ for ܐܒܐ Joh vi 32 (cod. 14), x 17 (cod. 9), xii 27 (cod. 40), xii 50 (codd. 3 4 14 17 23 40), xiv 26 (cod. 3\*), xvi 17 (cod. 12), xvii 25 (cod. 9). ܐܒܐ for ܐܒܐ only occurs Joh xii 49 (cod. 3), xiv 12 (codd. 4 9 23 36 37). In Joh vi 32 *C* therefore has some outside support, and in Joh xii 27 ܐܒܐ has the support of *S* and the Greek. It is, I venture to think, not unlikely that ܐܒܐ, i.e. *Abba*, was once used for ‘my father’ in Edessene, as in most forms of Palestinian Aramaic, and that these variations are the last trace of a vanishing idiom<sup>1</sup>. In Mk xiv 36 for Ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ we find ܐܒܐ in *S*, i.e. ‘my Father,’ without any addition; syr.vg has ܐܒܐ ܐܒܐ i.e. ‘Abba, my Father,’ in agreement with the Greek.

ܐܕܐ.—As in all the Biblical translations the plural of ܐܕܐ ‘hand’ is ܐܕܐ, not ܐܕܐ. It only occurs in the phrase ‘to lay hands on’ a person<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In Christian Palestinian Aramaic, as in Jewish Aramaic, ܐܒܐ means ‘my father’ even where the emphasis is on the suffix, e.g. Joh xx 17 ‘unto *my* Father and *your* Father’ is rendered ܐܒܐ ܐܒܐ ܕܐܒܐ.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase curiously illustrates the occasional fixity of Syriac idiom. ‘They laid [their] hands upon him’, i.e. *arrested* him, is in Syriac ܐܕܐ ܐܕܐ ܐܕܐ, the word ܐܕܐ being without a suffix and at the end of the clause. This is the case even in Matt xxvi 50, Lk xxii 53, where the Greek adopts the order usual in English. In Matt xxvi 50 the Greek has ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐκράτησαν αὐτόν. This does not go conveniently into Syriac, for ܐܕܐ ܐܕܐ is a little too heavy to be put between ܐܕܐ and ܐܕܐ. Accordingly *S* has

ܐܕܐ ܐܕܐ ܐܕܐ ܐܕܐ ܐܕܐ

But syr.vg is corrected back to the Greek. It has

ܐܕܐ ܐܕܐ ܐܕܐ ܐܕܐ ܐܕܐ

in accordance with the Greek order of the words. ܐܕܐ, being no longer at the end of the clause, receives a suffix, as in Matt xix 13, 15, and thus the distinction between laying one’s hands on a person for blessing and laying them on for violence is obliterated.

ܠܚܝܬ.—See on Nöldeke § 87.

ܡܪ.—ܠܡܪ ܝܐ and ܠܡܪ ܝܐ is the constant spelling in *S* but in *C* ܠܡܪ ܝܐ and ܠܡܪ ܝܐ occur occasionally<sup>1</sup>.

ܡܪ.—The sing. abs. of this word is spelt ܡܪ in *S*: the same spelling is found in *C* at Joh iv 37, v 32, vii 33, always at the end of a line. ܡܪ also occurs in cod. A of Aphraates (e.g. *Wright*, p. 156), and in cod. B (*Wright*, p. 48), but I have only noticed it once in the MSS of syr.vg, viz. Matt xi 3 in Mr Gwilliam's cod. 36.

ܡܪ, therefore, which stands at the end of a line for ἀλλοις in Mk x 40 *S*, is almost certainly meant for a plural, the scribe having probably intended to write ܡܪܝܬ.

The emph. is always spelt ܡܪܝܬ in *S*, but ܡܪܝܬ occurs in *C* at Lk viii 8 and a few other places.

ܡܪܝܬ.—The form ܡܪܝܬܝܐ Joh vii 42 *S*<sup>ed</sup> is a mere error of transcription: ܡܪܝܬ is quite clear in the photograph.

ܡܪܝܬ.—ܡܪܝܬ ‘roof,’ ‘dwelling,’ and ܡܪܝܬܝܐ pl. ܡܪܝܬܝܐ, ‘booth,’ have been confused in my translation, and the words are certainly confused in syr.vg. But I now believe they were kept distinct in *S* and *C*. The ‘dwelling’ of the Centurion (Matt viii 8, Lk vii 9) and the ‘dwelling’ of the birds of the heaven (Matt viii 20, Lk ix 58) is ܡܪܝܬ. But the ‘booths’ which S. Peter wished to set up at the Transfiguration (Matt xvii 4, Mk ix 5, Lk ix 33) the everlasting ‘habitations’ of the parable (Lk xvi 9)<sup>2</sup>, and the ‘Tabernacles’ of the Feast (Joh vii 2, 14) are ܡܪܝܬܝܐ, corresponding to σκηναί, σκηνοπηγία, in the Greek.

Among anomalous nouns may be put ܡܪܝܬܝܐ ‘seven’ Mk viii 5, 6 *S*, Lk xx 29 *S*, ܡܪܝܬܝܐ Mk xii 23 *S*, ܡܪܝܬ ‘Sabbath’ Lk xiii 14 *S*<sup>ed</sup>, and ܡܪܝܬܝܐ Lk x 17 *S*<sup>ed</sup>. In the last two passages the photograph is illegible, but all four spellings may be held to hang together. These variations of the ordinary ܡܪܝܬ, ܡܪܝܬܝܐ, ܡܪܝܬܝܐ, are all the more interesting because they are found in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic, as well as in various forms of Jewish Aramaic.

Equally suggestive of early forms of Aramaic is ܡܪ Matt xiii 35 *S*. It occurs at the beginning of a line, where there was plenty of room for ܡܪܝܬ, so there is no reason to regard it merely as a defective spelling.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Matt. xix 6, Lk ix 25<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In *S* read ܡܪܝܬܝܐ as in *C*, with one ܐ only.

ܕܡ is always written without ܝ in the Aramaic portions of Daniel, and with a suffix we find ܕܡܡܐ (Dan vii 5). ܕܡܝ appears actually to occur in the old Aramaic inscription from Nerab near Aleppo.

### Numbers.

[Nöldeke § 148.] The numbers in *S* and *C* call for few remarks. ܠܩܬܐ for ܠܩܬܐ (Lk xx 29 *S*) has been noticed above. In two places *S* appears to have a false concord, for we find ܠܩܬܐ ܠܩܬܐ Joh i 39 and ܠܩܬܐ ܕܥ Mk ix 2. Such false concords are extremely uncommon: I have not found any example noted in Mr Gwilliam's apparatus to the Peshitta Gospels.

*Decapolis* is rendered ܠܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ ܕܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ in *SC*, as in syr.vg. But ἐκ τῶν δεκάπολεων ἀνέμων Matt xxiv 31 is rendered ܠܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ ܕܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ in *S*, where syr.vg has ܠܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ ܕܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ; in Mk xiii 27 ܠܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ ܕܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ ܠܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ is found both in *S* and syr.vg.

### Particles.

[Nöldeke § 155.] A. Adverbs of Quality:

ܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ for ὅλος does not occur. In its place we find the very curious location ܠܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ Matt v 34 *SC* (so also Aphraates 505); and in Joh ix 34 *S* has ܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ. For the meaning see *Notes* on Matt v 34.

ܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ occurs Matt xv 32 *C*, but not in *S* or syr.vg.

The adverbial termination ܕܥܐ- is written fully in *S* and *C* almost always, but we find ܕܥܐܝܬܐ Lk xxii 62 *C*, ܕܥܐܝܬܐ Lk xxiii 47 *C*, in each case at the end of a line. ܕܥܐܝܬܐ occurs Matt xxi 29 *C*, but *S* has ܠܕܥܐܝܬܐ. In Matt xxi 37 (where syr.vg has ܕܥܐܝܬܐ) we find ܠܕܥܐܝܬܐ in *S*, ܠܕܥܐܝܬܐ in *C*.

B. Adverbs of Time and Place:

ܠܕܥܐܠܝܬܐ occurs in Lk xiii 9 *SC* for εἰς τὸ μέλλον, as in syr.vg. I have translated it 'next season,' but the precise meaning of the phrase is as doubtful as its derivation.

ܠܕܥܐ 'where?' and ܕܥܐ 'where' is found in *S*, but side by side with it is found another form ܠܕܥܐ, especially in *S. John*, which appears to be otherwise unknown. ܠܕܥܐ occurs in *S* Matt xxiv 28, xxvi 13, 17; Mk ix 18<sup>vid</sup>, xiv 12, 14 *bis*; Lk viii 25, xii 17, xvii 37<sup>b</sup>,

xxii 11<sup>b</sup>; Joh vii 35, viii 22(?), xiv 4, xvi 5, xx 2, 13, 15, xxi 18<sup>a</sup>. On the other hand ܠܠܐ occurs Matt ii 2, 4; Mk xv 47; Lk xvii 7, 37<sup>a</sup>, xxii 9<sup>vid</sup>, 11<sup>a</sup>; Joh i 28, 38, 39, iii 8<sup>b</sup>, vii 11, viii 14<sup>b</sup>, 19, ix 12, xi 34, xii 35, xiii 36, xiv 5. It will be seen that the two forms are used indiscriminately, even in the same verse. ܐܡ ܠܠܐ occurs Mk xiv 14 *S*: ܐܡܠܐ occurs Lk xix 23 *C*, Lk xx 5 *SC*.

Among the linguistic peculiarities of *S* is a curious preference for ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ, i.e. 'from whence,' instead of ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ 'whence.' In eighteen passages where ܠܠܐ occurs in the extant parts of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ܠܠܐ is prefixed 13 times in *S*, only 8 times in syr.vg. In *C* ܠܠܐ is prefixed 8 times out of fifteen, six of them being in *S. John*.

For the use of ܠܠܐ etc. in rendering οὖν, see the *Appendix* at the end of this Chapter.

Among the words for 'immediately' ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ is much the most frequently used in *S* and *C* in Matt and Mk, but ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ and ܠܠܐ are also found. ܠܠܐ is written ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ in Mk vi 45 *S*, and ܠܠܐ occurs Mk vi 25 *S*, Joh xiii 32 *S*. ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ occurs in *SC* for ἐξαίφνης Lk ix 39 and for αἰφνίδιος Lk xxi 34<sup>1</sup>.

ܠܠܐ (sic) for ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου Lk iv 5 *S* is worth notice as an idiomatic rendering.

### C. Adverbs of Quality and Conjunctions.

ܠܠܐ occurs Lk xvi 11, xx 17, xxii 70, both in *S* and in *C*, as the equivalent of οὖν, in Lk xxiii 3 *S* (not *C*) and in Joh xi 37 *S* (*hiat C*) without any Greek equivalent. This word is only found in the oldest Syriac literature, and seems to mean 'forsooth,' always with a touch of contempt. I suppose it was considered too lively a particle to be retained in Scripture. It has been allowed no place in the Peshitta, and it has been diligently washed out in each of the three passages where it occurs in *C*. This does not appear to have been the case in *S*, for where a letter has been washed out in *S* by a corrector before it was turned into a palimpsest it is now totally illegible<sup>2</sup>. But what has happened in *C* has happened also in Aphraates, who

<sup>1</sup> The same phrase occurs in syr.vg for ἐξαίφνης Ac ix 3, xxii 6, but in the Gospels only the ordinary phrases ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ and ܠܠܐ ܠܠܐ have been allowed to stand.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the first letter of ܠܠܐ [ܠܠܐ] Lk xii 31.



when quoting 1 Cor xv 29 has

ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ.

and in quoting 1 Cor xv 32

ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ.

(Wright, p. 157). At least this is what the two MSS originally had, as I was able to see after a careful examination in a good light. But in the former passage both MSS now have ܐܢܬܐ; and in 1 Cor xv 32 the one MS (*A*<sup>b</sup>) has ܐܢܬܐ (i.e. ܐܢܬܐ), and the other (*A*<sup>a</sup>) has ܥܡܐ. Both sets of corrections appear to be quite late.

The particle ܐܢܬܐ, used in quoting other people's words, very much after the manner of 'says he' or *φησί*, is found in Matt xvi 13 *SC*, Lk xiv 17 *SC*, and Joh xii 34 *S* (*hiat C*). ܐܢܬܐ, like ܕܥܡܐ, has been banished from the Peshitta Gospels, but in the Epistles it is very suitably retained in Col ii 21, 2 Thess ii 2. In this point, as in others, the Gospels were more drastically revised than the rest of the N.T.

ܐܢܬܐ is spelt ܐܢܬܐ in Matt xii 33 *S*<sup>ed</sup>, Lk xviii 25 *S*, but possibly these were merely slips in writing. ܐܢܬܐ (= *γὰρ*) is however the spelling found in Palestinian Syriac documents.

ܐܢܬܐ never occurs in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, simple ܐܢܬܐ or ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ being used instead.

ܐܢܬܐ occurs Mk xi 13 *S*, as a rendering of *εἰ ἄρα*.

[Nöldeke § 156.] The Prepositions in *S* and *C* shew few peculiarities of form: for syntactical uses, see on Nöldeke §§ 246–252.

In Lk ix 23, ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ in *S*, followed by ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, appears to be an attempt to distinguish between the *ὁπίσω μου ἔρχεσθαι* and *ἀκολουθεῖτω μοι* of the Greek. I have not met with any other resolution of ܐܢܬܐ into its original elements.

### Verbs.

[Nöldeke § 158.] The longer form of the 3rd pers. pl. masc. of the Perfect occurs in ܐܢܬܐ Joh xi 46 *S* (*sic*). The 3rd pl. fem. Perf. is identical with the 3rd sing. masc. in *S* and *C*, as in all other ancient Edessene MSS, except in verbs *tertia* ܐ<sup>1</sup>. But in the Imperative pl.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. 'my eyes were opened' is ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ, not ܐܢܬܐ ܐܢܬܐ. In the case of a palimpsest like *S*, often very difficult to read, there might in some case be a doubt whether a

fem. the longer form in *én* is used, as in the Peshitta, e.g. ܡܡܝܠ Lk xxiv 6 *SC*. In Mk xvi 7 for ὑπάγετε εἶπατε Dr Harris edited ܡܡܝܠ ܕܝܐ, my transcript has ܡܡܝܠ ܕܝܐ. It is therefore probable that the former of the two verbs has no *nûn* at the end: the photograph is unfortunately illegible.

[Nöldeke § 160.] ܡܡܝܠ Lk ix 32 *S* must be a mere orthographical miswriting of ܡܡܝܠ, not a relic of an intransitive *i*-form. In several other places *S* has a twist too many, identical in shape with the small letter *yôd*, e.g. ܡܡܝܠ (for ܡܡܝܠ) Matt xvii 19, ܡܡܝܠ (for ܡܡܝܠ) Matt xix 25, ܡܡܝܠ (for ܡܡܝܠ) Joh viii 57.

For ܡܡܝܠ instead of ܡܡܝܠ, see on Nöldeke § 183.

[Nöldeke § 172.] ܡܡܝܠ Lk xvii 3 *S* is no doubt a scribe's blunder for ܡܡܝܠ. Both *S* and *C* correctly read ܡܡܝܠ in Lk xix 39.

[Nöldeke § 173.] For the Imperative of ܡܡܝܠ, *S* has ܡܡܝܠ Joh xiv 15 and ܡܡܝܠ Joh xvii 11. For ܡܡܝܠ Matt xix 17 *C* we find ܡܡܝܠ in *S*, i.e. the Pael. The Imperative Peal of ܡܡܝܠ 'to knock' occurs Lk xi 9 *SC* in the ordinary form ܡܡܝܠ, and the Perfect occurs in Lk xii 36, but in Lk xi 10, xiii 25 (where *C* has the Participles ܡܡܝܠ, ܡܡܝܠ), we find ܡܡܝܠ and ܡܡܝܠ in *S*, i.e. the Aphel participles *maqqesh*, *maqqëshîn*. These appear to be the only passages where the Aphel of this verb is used in Edessene, but ܡܡܝܠ occurs in the Christian Palestinian Lectionary at Lk xiii 25. Here again therefore a peculiarity of *S* finds illustration from other Aramaic dialects.

[Nöldeke § 174.] For ܡܡܝܠ and ܡܡܝܠ, see on Nöldeke § 183.

[Nöldeke § 177.] ܡܡܝܠ Lk xii 1 *S*, ܡܡܝܠ Lk xiii 3 *S*, and ܡܡܝܠ (imptv.) Lk ix 44 *S*, are simply instances of *scriptio defectiva* for ܡܡܝܠ, ܡܡܝܠ and ܡܡܝܠ: they do not imply any difference of grammatical form.

[Nöldeke § 183: *the anomalous Verbs.*]

ܡܡܝܠ and ܡܡܝܠ.—In the Imperative of these verbs the initial ܡ is sometimes not dropped in *S*, particularly in S. Matthew. The instances

mere twist were added at the end of a word like ܡܡܝܠ or not; what makes it almost certain that such a twist is never added is that verbs ending in ܡ and ܡ never add the *yôd*. Thus in Matt xxv 5 we have ܡܡܝܠ and ܡܡܝܠ, not ܡܡܝܠ and ܡܡܝܠ: both in Matt xxiv 32 and in Mk xiii 28 *S* reads ܡܡܝܠ not ܡܡܝܠ. In ZDMG xxvii 572 (*Cyrrillona* ii 194) Bickell edited ܡܡܝܠ, but I have ascertained that the original reading of B.M. Add. 14591 is ܡܡܝܠ. Curiously enough, Gwilliam's cod. 36 reads ܡܡܝܠ for ܡܡܝܠ in Matt xiii 6, where the word is masc. sing.

are (1) for ܠܚܝܬ and ܠܚܝܬ, Matt xi 28, xix 21, xxii 4; Lk ix 59; (2) for ܠܝܬ and ܠܝܬ, Matt ii 20, v 41, viii 4, 9, ix 6, 13, xvii 27; Mk vii 29 (ܠܝܬ); Lk vii 22, x 3, xiii 31, xxii 10. It will be seen that no example of this spelling occurs in S. John.

The fem. pl. Imperative of ܠܚܝܬ is spelt ܠܚܝܬ in Matt xxviii 6 S, the only passage where it occurs.

ܠܚܝܬ.—In Lk xvii 23 S we find ܠܚܝܬ ܠܚܝܬ so written, from which perhaps we may infer that the vowelless ܠܚܝܬ was unpronounced, and so became liable to be dropped in writing.

ܠܚܝܬ.—In three places we find ܠܚܝܬ written in S, where the sense is passive and we should expect ܠܚܝܬ. The passages are

(1) ܠܚܝܬܐ ܡܬܝܠܠܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ *To you is given the mystery of the kingdom of God* (Mk iv 11 S);

(2) ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ...ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ *To thee I give this authority...because to me it is given* (Lk iv 6 S);

(3) ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ<sup>17</sup> ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ...ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ *And he entered the synagogue...as he was wont. <sup>17</sup>And there was given him the book of Isaiah* (Lk iv 16, 17 S).

The same spelling occurs in the codex of Aphraates called by Wright A and cited in this book as A<sup>a</sup>. In Wright, p. 355, we find ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ *Not every one is sufficient for it, but he to whom it is given* (Matt xix 11). The other MS of Aphraates A<sup>b</sup> has ܠܚܝܬܐ instead of ܠܚܝܬܐ, and ܠܚܝܬܐ is also found here in S C and the Peshitta<sup>1</sup>, but the correction was so obvious that we may be pretty sure that A<sup>a</sup> preserves the true text of Aphraates. And again (Wright, p. 114), according to the same MS A<sup>a</sup>, we find

ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ. ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ. ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ. ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ.

(At the coming of Christ) the edge of the sword is taken from in front of the Tree of Life, and it is given for meat to the faithful; and Paradise is promised to the blessed and to the virgins and the holy, and the fruits of the Tree of Life are given for meat to the faithful and to the virgins.

The other MS A<sup>b</sup> has ܠܚܝܬܐ and ܠܚܝܬܐ.

These five instances of the use of ܠܚܝܬܐ for ܠܚܝܬܐ shew that we are

<sup>1</sup> One MS however, Mr Gwilliam's 14, actually has ܠܚܝܬܐ here, and similarly Mr Gwilliam's 9 has ܠܚܝܬܐ Joh xix 11.



dealing with something more than a slip in writing. It would be intolerably harsh to translate the passages impersonally, and at first I believed that they contained a relic of the old Passive formed by internal vowel change, instances of which survive in Biblical Aramaic. **ܕܝܐ** actually occurs in Dan vii 14. But in the passage just quoted from Aphraates 114 the word **ܕܝܐ**, however pronounced, must be a Participle: it cannot be a Perfect tense. Moreover, as all the instances of this defective spelling concern the verb **ܕܝܐ** the explanation must be specially suited to that word. I therefore conjecture that when **ܕܝܐ** is written for the Pass. Part. the **ܝ** is intended to be elided, and that just as in the Perfect original *yēhaβ* has become *yaβ*, so in the Participle original *yēhiβ* became *yīβ* or *iβ*: that is to say, we should point the word **ܕܝܐ**.

The spelling **ܕܝܐ** for **ܕܝܐ** is also found in Christian Palestinian documents, viz. Matt xix 11 codd. ABC, Lk vii 25 codd. BC, Joh vi 66 cod. B, Joh vii 39 codd. BC, Joh xix 11 codd. BC; also in Mrs Lewis's *Praxapostolos* Gen ix 17, Exod xi 5 (*sic*)<sup>1</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 184 ff.: *the Verbal Suffixes*.] The Verbal Suffixes are regular in *C*, so far as the consonantal writing is concerned, but in *S* there are found some rare and some otherwise almost unattested forms, especially in the 3rd sing. masc. suffix to the Imperfect.

§§ 188, 189. The forms found in *S* are

<b>ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ</b>	<b>ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ</b>
<b>ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ</b>	<b>ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ</b>
<b>ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ</b>	<b>ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ</b>

with corresponding forms for **ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ**, **ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ**, etc. The form **ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ** does not occur either in *S* or *C*; on the other hand **ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ** is much commoner than **ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ** both in *S* and in *C*. Examples of the irregular forms in *S* are given below. It will be noticed that they are less frequent in *S*. Matthew than elsewhere.

(1) Forms in **ܕܝܐ**- (see also on § 195):—**ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ** Matt xxiv 46 (*contrast* Lk xii 43); **ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ** Mk vi 24 (*contrast* Matt xiv 7), **ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ** Mk ix 22, **ܕܝܐܝܠܝܐ** Mk xiv 10, 11 (*contrast* Matt xxvi 16),

<sup>1</sup> In the last instance **ܕܝܐ** means simply 'is' or 'is to be found,' just as **ܕܝܐ** in Lk vii 25 corresponds to *ὑπάρχοντες*.



,**ܡܝܬܝܬܐ** Mk xiv 58 (*contrast* Matt xxvi 61); ,**ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ** Lk xii 44, ,**ܡܡܡܝܢܐ**...., **ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ** Lk xii 46<sup>1</sup>, ,**ܡܡܡܝܬܐ** Lk xx 18, ,**ܡܡܝܢܐ** Lk xxiv 21; ,**ܡܡܠܝܬܐ** Joh iv 34; ,**ܡܠܝܬܐ**...., **ܡܡܡܝܬܐ** Joh x 18 (both apparently meant for fem. suffixes, as in Lk xii 46), ,**ܡܡܝܢܐ**...., **ܡܡܝܢܐ** Joh xii 47, 48, ,**ܡܡܠܝܢܐ** Joh xiii 2, ,**ܡܡܡܐ**, **ܡܡܡܝܬܐ** Joh xiv 21.

(2) Forms in ,**ܡܐ-** (see also on § 195):—, **ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ** Matt xxiv 47<sup>2</sup>; ,**ܡܡܡܝܢܐ** Lk xii 42<sup>3</sup>, ,**ܡܡܝܢܐ** Lk xvi 27, ,**ܡܡܡܝܬܐ** Lk xxiii 16, 22; ,**ܡܡܝܢܐ** Joh iii 17, ,**ܡܡܡܝܬܐ** Joh vi 40, 54, ,**ܡܡܝܢܐ** Joh xi 11.

(3) The Plural forms in **ܡܐ-** and **ܡܡܐ-** need no illustration; it is sufficient to observe that **ܡܡܠܝܢܐ** and **ܡܡܡܝܢܐ** occur Lk v 18 *S*, but ,**ܡܡܠܝܢܐ** Lk v 19 *S*. The following instances of ,**ܡܐ-** are found in *S*:—, **ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ** Mk ix 32, ,**ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ** Lk xxiv 16, ,**ܡܡܝܢܐ** Joh vi 15, ,**ܡܡܡܝܬܐ** Joh viii 28, ,**ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ** Joh xii 10, ,**ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ** Joh xviii 28<sup>4</sup>. ,**ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ** also occurs in Lk xxii 2 *C*, where *S* has ,**ܡܡܐ-**.

§ 190. The regular form of the Impt. masc. pl. with suffix occurs in ,**ܡܡܝܢܐ** Joh xviii 31 *S* (*sic*), but for verbs with initial **ܐ** we find ,**ܡܡܝܢܐ** 'say ye it' Matt x 27 *S*, ,**ܡܡܝܢܐ** 'take ye him' Matt xxii 13 *S*, Mk xiv 44 *S*.

In the Sing. we have the regular forms ,**ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ** Mk xv 14 *S* (and in Lk xxiii 21 *C*), also ,**ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ** Lk xxiii 18 *S*, but in Lk xxiii 21 *S* has ,**ܡܢܦܝܢܐ**, **ܡܢܦܝܢܐ** for **ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ**.

[Nöldeke § 192 ff. *Verbs with final ܐ and suffixes.*]

§ 194. In the forms of the 3rd pl. masc. Perf. with suffixes we find -**ܐܐ-** always written in *S* for -**ܐܐ-**, and generally in *C*. Thus we have ,**ܡܡܝܢܐ** Matt ii 10, 11 *SC*, Matt xxi 28 *SC*, Lk xx 14 *SC*; but ,**ܡܡܝܢܐ** occurs Matt xiv 26 *C*, where *S* has **ܐܐ** without a suffix<sup>5</sup>. With a fem. we find **ܡܡܠܝܢܐ** Matt xiii 48 *S*.

In Mk vi 49 *S*, **ܡܡܝܢܐ** is the 3rd pl. masc. Perf. in -**ܐܐ-** with suffix. The word was so read by the late Professor Bensly and myself at Sinai, but the form is said to be otherwise unknown in these verbs and I

<sup>1</sup> Possibly these words were meant for the fem., i.e. **ܡܡܡܝܢܐ ܡܡܝܢܐ ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ**; cf Joh x 18.

<sup>2</sup> I am not quite sure that the true reading of *S* may not be ,**ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ**. On the other hand in Matt xxi 38 the photograph of *S* appears to me to suggest ,**ܡܢܦܠܝܢܐ**.

<sup>3</sup> Photograph illegible.

<sup>4</sup> In **ܡܡܝܢܐ** Mk x 33 *S* the **ܐ** is no doubt intrusive.

<sup>5</sup> ,**ܡܡܝܢܐ** also occurs in the ancient palimpsest fragments of the *Acts of Thomas* (= Wright 312<sup>19</sup>).

confess that the photograph now suggests to me ,ܡܡܝܠܐ as the reading of the MS, a form which actually occurs in the following verse, Mk vi 50.

§ 195. Instances of the irregular suffixes to the Imperfect are given below from *S*.

(1) Forms in ,ܡ- (see above on §§ 188, 189):—,ܡܠܬܐ ܠ Matt v 42 (*sic*), Lk vi 29; ,ܡܠܐܢ Mk xii 15; ,ܡܝܒܝܠ Lk xxiii 20, ,ܡܝܢܝܠ Lk xxiii 22; ,ܡܠܐܢܝܠ Joh xii 47, ,ܡܠܐܢܝܠ Joh xiv 21.

(2) Forms in ,ܡܐ-:—,ܡܐܢܝܠ Lk xxiii 16<sup>1</sup>.

§ 196. In the Imperative, as in the Perfect, we find in *S* -ܐܐ- instead of -ܐܢ-: e.g. ,ܡܐܐܢܠ Lk xix 30 *S* (but ,ܡܐܢܠ *C*); ,ܡܐܐܢܠ Matt xxii 9 *S*, ,ܡܐܐܢܠ Joh xi 44 *S*. ,ܡܐܐܢܠ Mk xi 2 *S* is probably a mere slip in writing. The Imptv. pl. of ,ܐܡ, with suffix of 1st pers. sing., is ,ܡܐܐܢܠ Matt ii 8, xxii 19, Lk xx 24 in *S*, but *C* has the regular form ,ܡܐܢܠ in all three passages.

In the Infinitive of these verbs, besides the regular forms we find ,ܡܠܐܢܠ 'to see him' Lk xxiii 8 *S*.

These irregular suffixes, which are one of the most striking grammatical peculiarities of *S*, have some slight attestation in other Syriac documents. An instance occurs, curiously enough, in the dedication prefixed by Habibai to Codex *C* itself where we find ,ܡܐܐܢܠ for ,ܡܐܢܠ: this may however have been a mere error of the writer. Of much more importance is the occurrence of ,ܡܐܢܠܝܠ in Aphraates cod. A (i.e. *A*<sup>a</sup>, *Wright*, p. 169), in a quotation of Joh xi 11, the same passage where it is found in *S*. It is therefore clear that these peculiar suffixes are not merely due to some accident of transcription in the Sinai Palimpsest. They are doubtless genuine remains of that early stage of Edessene Syriac, of which the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is the only well preserved monument: of these suffixes, as of other features, we may say with Wellhausen, "man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass solche Raritäten stehn gebliebene Reste sind, dass schon im Sin. und Cur. die stilistische Korrektur begonnen hat, die in der Peschita (namentlich des Neuen Testaments) entschiedener, wenngleich auch nicht systematisch durchgeführt ist<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> ,ܡܐܢܠ also occurs in *Cyrrillona* i 12 and in the ancient palimpsest fragments of the *Acts of Thomas* (corresponding to ,ܡܐܢܠ *Wright* 315<sup>8</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> J. Wellhausen in *Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1895, i, p. 5.

## Syntax.

The following remarks do not profess to be anything like a complete account of the Syntax of *S* and *C*, or even of their peculiarities of Syntax. As was remarked at the beginning of this Section, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is written in idiomatic Edessene Syriac: the most notable peculiarity of *S* and *C* is not the presence of this or that idiom, but their freedom from that imitation of Greek constructions which pervades so much of the later Syriac literature.

[Nöldeke § 202 B.] **ܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ** (i.e. "Bloodfield") Matt xxvii 8 *S* is an interesting example of the Absolute state in proper names. It is curious that the Syriac should have avoided the obvious rendering **ܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ**, found in the Latin and in the Palestinian Syriac texts<sup>1</sup>.

Equally noteworthy is **ܡܠܬܝܢ** Joh xviii 10 *S* (*sic*), because it shews that the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* recognised the genuine Semitic name which appears in the Greek as *Máλχος*. The name is actually written **ܡܠܬܝܢ** in a number of Palmyrene inscriptions of the 1st cent. AD and is doubtless identical with the common Arabic name *Málik*<sup>un</sup>. The Peshitta has **ܡܠܬܝܢ** *Málēx*, without the final **ܐ**: probably by the 5th century the **ܐ** had become unfamiliar as an ending to masculine names, and **ܡܠܬܝܢ** only sounded like the abs. sing. of **ܡܠܬܝܢ**. Similarly in Nehem vi 6 **ܡܠܬܝܢ** becomes **ܡܠܬܝܢ** in syr.vg.

[§ 202 c.] The curious phrase **ܕܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ** Matt xiii 48 *SC* appears to mean "they chose out the fishes whatever good ones there were." A doubled *adverb* is normal in Syriac, as in the phrase **ܕܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ**, used for *οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες* in the Peshitta as well as in *SC*. But the use of a plural *adjective* in this distributive sense is very uncommon and seems to have been a puzzle to the translator of the Armenian version of the Gospel. A good example of the distributive use of the absolute state is **ܕܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ** for *κατ' ὅψιν* Joh vii 24 *SC*. The Peshitta has **ܕܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ**.

<sup>1</sup> The Palestinian Lectionary has for Matt xxvii 8

**ܕܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ**

Land's ancient *cod. Petropolitanus* (a MS of the continuous Gospel text) has

**ܕܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢ**  
**ܕܡܬܬܝܢ**

[Nöldeke § 208 A.] **ܕܝܕܐ ܐܡ ܒܢܐ** Lk xv 15 *S* is an instance of the somewhat careless construction mentioned by Duval (*Grammaire Syriacque* § 357 *f*), who quotes **ܕܠܒܐ ܐܡ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܡܪܝ** from *B.O.* i 365. In Lk xv 15 *C* has **ܐܡ ܕܝܕܐ ܒܢܐ**, but in Lk xix 39 both *S* and *C* have **ܕܒܢܐ ܐܡ ܒܢܐ ܕܡܪܝ**.

[Nöldeke § 210.] **ܕܠܒܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܠܒܐ** 'every village of Galilee' Lk v 17 *S* is a good instance of the use of the absolute state before a genitive.

[Nöldeke § 212.] In Lk xxiii 2 *καὶ λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν χριστὸν βασιλέα εἶναι* is translated in *SC* **ܕܠܒܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܡܪܝ**. The last two words agree letter for letter with the Jewish **ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ**, commonly translated 'King Messiah.' But Dr Dalman (*Worte Jesu* 240) has shewn that it is a mistake to treat 'Messiah' in this phrase as a proper name, and that we should render it 'the Anointed King.' And this also agrees with the usage of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Peshitta, for the Syriac not only has 'Herod the king' in Matt ii 3, Mk vi 14, where the better Greek texts have *ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης*, but also 'Augustus Caesar' in Lk ii 1, although 'Caesar Augustus' is the order found in all other authorities. In Lk xxiii 2, therefore, **ܕܠܒܐ ܕܡܪܝ** should be translated 'an anointed king' rather than 'King Messiah.'

[Nöldeke § 217.] **ܕܠܐ** for **ܕܠܐ ܕܠܐ** is now attested by *S* in Joh iii 35, as well as Aphraates 123. On the other hand the Peshitta has **ܕܠܐ** in Joh i 3, where **ܕܠܐ ܕܠܐ** is read by *C* and by Ephraim (*Rom.* iv 18 E, *Lamy* ii 513).

[Nöldeke § 220 B.] By the dropping of a repeated **ܡܪܝ** the enclitic **ܐܡܐ** occupies an unusual position in **ܐܡܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܡܪܝ** 'Who's my mother or *who* are my brothers?' Matt xii 48 *S*. In the parallel passage Mk iii 33 the **ܐܡܐ** is not present.

[Nöldeke § 222.] The idiom of a preposition followed by a pronominal suffix and **ܐ** is ingeniously used in Joh xi 32 *S*, where *ἦλθεν ὁ ποὺ ἦν Ἰησοῦς* is rendered **ܕܠܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܡܪܝ**. Similarly in Joh vii 42 *τῆς κώμης ὁ ποὺ ἦν Δαυείδ* is rendered **ܕܠܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܡܪܝ** by the Peshitta as well as *SC*. In each case the clumsy Johannine periphrasis is indicated without being allowed to hamper the movement of the sentence.



[Nöldeke § 223.] **ܐܬܐܢܐ** with suffix is twice used for *ὅλος*, viz. **ܐܬܐܢܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ** = *μὴ ὁμόσαι ὅλος* Matt v 34 *S C* and *A* 505, and again **ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ ܕܝܠܐ** = *ἐν ἀμαρτίαις σὺ ἐγεννήθης ὅλος* Joh ix 34 *S*, where *ὅλος* is read for *ὅλος* in 1-118-131-209 and some other Greek mss, as well as the Armenian vulgate. The same idiom has been left standing in 1 Cor vi 7 syr.vg, where *ὅλος ἡττημα ὑμῖν ἐστίν* is rendered **ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ**, i.e. 'ye your own selves are guilty.'

[Nöldeke § 224\*.] To render *ὁ δαιμονισθεὶς* Mk v 18 *S* has the characteristic Syriac idiom **ܕܝܠܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ**, and this reappears in the Peshitta as **ܕܝܠܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ**. But in Lk viii 36 *ὁ δαιμονισθεὶς* is only rendered in *S* and *C* by 'that man'; accordingly in the Peshitta we find **ܕܝܠܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ ܕܝܠܐ** 'that demoniac man.' Evidently **ܕܥܡܐܢܐ** was taken over from syr.vt, and **ܕܝܠܐ** added to give the sense of the Greek. In other words the text of the Peshitta in Lk viii 36 is conflate; we catch the reviser at work and see how his style differs from the idiomatic Syriac of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

[Nöldeke § 225.] **ܕܝܠܐ** is occasionally used in *S* and *C* to give emphasis, e.g. **ܕܝܠܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ** Matt v 11 *S* (*om.* **ܕܝܠܐ** *C*), where syr.vg has **ܕܝܠܐ** in agreement with the Greek *ἐνεκεν ἐμοῦ*. Cases like **ܕܝܠܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ** Matt xiii 30 *C* (*om.* **ܕܝܠܐ** *S*), **ܕܝܠܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ** Lk xxii 30 *S* (*ܕܝܠܐ* *C*), where **ܕܝܠܐ** appears to have no real force at all, are very uncommon and seem to be due to some accident of revision.

[Nöldeke § 228.] It is here very truly remarked by Nöldeke that the difference between **ܕܝܠܐ** 'those' and **ܕܝܠܐ** 'these' is often neglected in Syriac. Thus in Matt xxiii 23 *ταῦτα...κακείνα* is rendered by **ܕܝܠܐ...ܕܝܠܐ** in the Peshitta as well as in *S C*, although in other more important respects the Peshitta text of this verse has been conformed to the Greek.

[Nöldeke § 233.] **ܕܝܠܐ ܕܥܡܐܢܐ** stands for *τί σοι ὄνομά ἐστιν*; (Lk viii 30) in syr.vg as well as *S C*. This is no doubt the old Semitic idiom: it is found in the Hebrew text of Judges xiii 17 **מִי שְׁמֶךָ**, and in the Targum of Onkelos to Gen xxxii 27 we find **מִן שְׁמֶךָ** although the Massoretic Text here has **מִה שְׁמֶךָ**. The use of the phrase 'Who is thy name?' is doubtless connected with that identification of the name with the personality, whereby in Semitic idiom the Name of God is

practically used for His personal character, as known to the worshipper.

[Nöldeke § 236 c.] In several passages, e.g. Matt xx 15, Lk x 23, Joh iv 22, *S* has ܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ where *C* and the Peshitta have ܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ. In a few places the Peshitta keeps ܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ with *S*, while *C* has the ordinary ܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ, e.g. Matt xviii 30.

[Nöldeke § 240 A.] ܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܠܐ [ܐܬܝܢܐ] Matt xviii 22 *S C* and  $A^{2/2}$ , literally 'on 70 [times] seven seven,' does not mean 3430 times but 490, as Aphraates especially declares (*Wright*, p. 298). ܐܬܝܢܐ means 'seven by seven,' i.e. 'in rows of seven.' When therefore the acts of forgiveness are piled in rows of seven upon seventy, we get  $70 \times 7$ , which is four hundred and ninety.

[Nöldeke § 243.] In Lk iv 40 *δύνοντος τοῦ ἡλίου* is rendered in *S* by the idiomatic ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ, without ܐ prefixed, and this also is the reading of the Peshitta, as edited by Mr Gwilliam from the mss. In Mk i 32 ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ in *S* corresponds to *ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης ὅτε ἔδυσεν ὁ ἥλιος*, and in remedying the apparent deficiency syr.vg inserts the ܐ, ܡܪܝܬܐ no longer being the first word in the sentence (ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ). Here again the effort to conform the Syriac to the Greek has resulted in the disappearance of a characteristic Syriac idiom.

[Nöldeke § 244.] For the omission of ܐ in short descriptive clauses, see on Nöldeke § 275.

[Nöldeke § 249 E.] The curiously slack construction sometimes used after ܡܪܝܬܐ in comparative clauses is found in Matt xviii 13 *S C* as well as in the Peshitta and Aphraates 142, where we read that the shepherd who has found the lost sheep "rejoiceth over it *more than* the ninety and nine which have not gone astray" (...ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ). The Greek is *μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ* followed by a dative, but no Syriac authority reads the logically more correct ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ. The same construction is found in Lk xv 7 *C*, but *S* followed by syr.vg reads ܠܐ ܐܬܝܢܐ instead of ܡܪܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܬܐ.

Similarly in Matt xxvii 9 there is nothing but the context to decide whether the prophet held the Christ dearer than he held the sons of Israel, or whether he held the Christ dearer than the sons of Israel did.

The use of ܐܪ instead of ܐܢ in comparisons, in imitation of (or at least corresponding to) the Greek ἢ, occurs several times in the Gospels, e.g. Matt xix 24 *S C*, confirmed by Aphraates 392. I see no reason to doubt that *S* in Lk xv 7 preserves the original rendering of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*: there are many characteristic variations in the early part of Lk xv where *S* differs both from *C* and the Peshitta, and it is more likely that *C* borrowed ܐܢ ܝܬܐ in v. 7 from the parallel passage Matt xviii 13 or from the Diatessaron itself than that *S* should have adopted the one variation ܐܪ ܐܪ from the Peshitta.

The compound preposition ܕܐܠ ܐܢ corresponds to the French *de chez*, e.g. in Lk viii 37, and also in Matt viii 34 *S*, the Gadarenes beseech Jesus to depart ܕܐܠܐܠ ܐܢ. Similarly Judas comes with a multitude ܕܐܠܐܠ ܐܢ Matt xxvi 47, Mk xiv 43, the Greek being ἀπὸ in Matt but παρὰ in Mk. It is a little less direct than the simple ܐܢ and gives the impression that the place of departure is, so to speak, a little more complex and less personal. Accordingly it is used of God, in exactly the same way as ܡܢ ܩܕܡ is used in Jewish Aramaic. Our Lord is thus said to have come forth ܕܐܠܐܠ ܐܢ in Joh xiii 3 *S* (= ἀπὸ θεοῦ) and in Joh xvi 27 *S*-vg (= παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ). But there can have been very little significance in the periphrasis, for παρὰ σοῦ is rendered in *S* by ܕܐܠܐܠ ܐܢ in Joh xvii 7 and by ܕܐܠܐܠ in v. 8. In Matt xxi 42 and Mk xii 11 ('From the LORD this came to pass') all the Syriac texts have ܕܐܠܐܠ ܐܢ, but the Peshitta of Ps cxviii (cxvii) 23 has the characteristically Jewish ܕܐܠܐܠ ܐܢ.

[Nöldeke § 250.] For 'demoniac possession' in the Synoptic Gospels the Syriac vulgate uses the preposition ܕ, e.g. 'a demon is *in* him' Matt xi 18, '*in* whom was a demon' Lk viii 27; in S. John δαίμονιον ἔχεις is literally translated ܕܐܠܐܠ ܐܢ 'thou hast a demon.' But in *S* and *C* this ܕ is never used and its place is supplied by ܕ or ܐܠ, e.g. ܕܐܠܐܠ ܐܢ Joh vii 20 *S C*, ܕܐܠܐܠ ܐܢ Joh viii 48, 52 *S* (*hiat C*), and ܕܐܠܐܠ ܐܢ ܐܠܐܠ 'on whom was a devil' Lk viii 27 *S C*. What was meant by this is evident from the picturesque expression ܕܐܠܐܠ ܐܢ ܐܠܐܠ 'whom a devil was riding' (or, as we say, 'devil-ridden'), found in Matt ix 32 *S* for δαιμονιζόμενον<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This use of ܐܠ is also found in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, e.g. ܐܠ ܐܢ Joh vii 20.

[Nöldeke § 251.] In Lk x 30 *S* agrees with *C* in translating ἡμιθανὴς by ܠܠ ܕܡܬ ܕܡܬ ‘between dead and alive.’ The Peshitta is widely different. In Lk xvii 11 the addition of ܐܡܝܢ ܠܝܠܝܐ by *C* to the phrase ܠܝܠܝܐ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܕܡܬ ܕܡܬ is not found in *S*, and it probably means ‘to Jericho.’ It cannot therefore be brought forward as a parallel to ܠܡܝܬ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܕܡܬ ܕܡܬ Ephr. *Overbeck* 147 *ult.*, quoted by Nöldeke: see further the Note on Lk xvii 11.

[Nöldeke § 263.] The tenses are employed normally in *S* and *C*, and call for no special remark here except as regards the Pluperfect, i.e. the Perfect followed by ܠܡܝܢ. In my translation I have ventured uniformly to translate these Syriac Perfects with ܠܡܝܢ by the English Pluperfect, in spite of the occasional harshness, as I believe the reader will thereby be better able to seize the point of view taken by the Syriac narrator in telling his tale. In a plain historical narrative we find in Syriac a series of verbs in the Perfect, varied occasionally by Perfects followed by ܠܡܝܢ or ܐܡܝܢ as the case may be. These latter Perfects with ܠܡܝܢ often occur in positions that obviously require us to use a Pluperfect in translation, but sometimes it is not so obvious and most translators then simply leave the ܠܡܝܢ untranslated. But to do this obliterates the march of the action as conceived by the Syriac mind. If I am right, we may regard a Syriac narrative as a series of *tableaux vivants*. The simple Perfects describe the action, the movement, which we are invited to witness; the Perfects with ܠܡܝܢ, on the other hand, describe the anterior action, the actions which we are not actually supposed ourselves to observe, but which have brought the *dramatis personae* into the required situation.

Thus in S. Mark's story of the cursing of the barren Fig-tree and the cleansing of the Temple, as told by *S*, the narrator wishes to invite us to see and hear the following actions. Our Lord *hungers*, *sees* a fig-tree, *comes* to it, *finds* nothing but leaves, *utters* a curse on it. The curtain then lifts on another scene: He *begins* to put out the buyers and sellers in the Temple, and during some time we see Him *stopping* the passengers, *teaching* and *saying* ‘My House is a House of Prayer.’ Then again the disciples *see* the fig-tree withered, and S. Peter *says* ‘The fig-tree is withered,’ and Jesus *answers* ‘Have faith in God.’ Then in another scene we see the chief Priests *come* to Jesus, and they *ask* for His authority and He *answers* them (S. Mark xi 12–29).



Here we have four scenes, two on the way and two in the Temple. The events which we are supposed to see and hear are told us in the simple Perfect. But the connecting links, the subsidiary, though necessary, actions that bring the actors into the required situations, are told us in the Pluperfect. How is it that Peter remembered (v. 21)? Because the disciples *had heard* (ܐܪܡ ܐܬܪܐ v. 14<sup>b</sup>). How is it that we find our Lord busy with the merchants in the Temple? Because He *had entered* the Temple (ܐܪܡ ܐܬܪܐ v. 15<sup>a</sup>). How is it that in the fourth scene our Lord is found in controversy with the chief priests? Because He and the disciples *had come* again to Jerusalem (ܐܪܡ ܐܬܪܐ v. 27<sup>a</sup>), and the chief priests *had heard* of His doings in the Temple (ܐܪܡ ܐܬܪܐ v. 18<sup>a</sup>).

The point is, that this tense describes a past scene. It may break the thread of the narrative to bring in a detail, but it does not carry the narrative forward. Wherever it appears there is a break of continuity<sup>1</sup>. A good example of this is Lk x 17 where *S* and *C* have ܐܪܡ ܐܬܪܐ, suggesting the break which is logically demanded after v. 16. The previous verses give one scene, containing our Lord's parting instructions to the Seventy-two: the following verses describe what was said when the Seventy-two *had returned*<sup>2</sup>. It is a question of pictorial effect, of the subordination of phrase. To neglect this subordination turns a Syriac narrative into a monotonous chain of statements and takes the life out of the action.

Naturally the proper grouping and subordination of the incidents in a story is a matter of individual taste, at least to some extent. We therefore find that editors often inserted or cut out the ܐܪܡ or ܐܬܪܐ. A series of instances will be found in Lk viii 19 ff, where *S* three times has a simple Perfect when *C* has the Pluperfect: Matt xxi 46 is another example of the same variation.

[Nöldeke § 274.] The 'historic present' is rare in Syriac, but several clear instances occur in *S*: e.g. Matt xx 11 when the Labourers saw, they *murmur* (ܡܠܝܝܐ, Gr. ἐγόγγυζον); Matt xxiv 1 when...the disciples drew near, they *shew* Him the buildings (ܡܠܝܝܐ, Gr. ἐπιδείξαι); Matt xxvii 19 Pilate's wife *sendeth word* to him (ܡܠܝܝܐ, Gr. ἀπέστειλεν);

<sup>1</sup> It is, in fact, the exact opposite of the Arabic ف or the Hebrew strong ׀.

<sup>2</sup> A similar break in narration is to be found in Lk i 62 *S*.

Mk vi 5 on a few infirm folk He *layeth* His hands and they were healed (ܡܠܟ, Gr. ἐπιθεὶς [...ἐθεράπευσεν]); Lk viii 4, for συνιόντος *S* has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ, *C* has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ, syr.vg has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ...

These examples, in all of which the tense used is clear from the consonantal writing, raise the question whether we ought not sometimes to point verbs as Participles rather than Perfects in cases where the consonantal writing does not distinguish between them. The point which distinguishes ܡܠܟܐ *killing* from ܡܠܟܐ *he killed* is never found in *S* or *C*, so that we are entirely dependent on analogy and such tradition as is afforded us by the transmitted vocalisation of the Peshitta<sup>1</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 275.] Circumstantial clauses are expressed in Syriac by the Participle preceded by ܕܐܝܬܐ or some other particle such as ܕܐܝܬܐ, or by a relative. The Participle, or participially used adjective (§ 244), is rarely allowed to stand alone, except after Imperatives (§ 272). Thus in Matt xi 18 (John the Baptist came *neither eating nor drinking*) *S* has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ. But this is altered in the other texts: *C* has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ and syr.vg has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ. In the parallel passage, however, Lk vii 33, all three texts agree with that of *S* in S. Matthew.

A somewhat similar instance is Lk xviii 11, where *S* has 'That Pharisee *standeth* by himself *praying*...' (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ), but *C* and syr.vg have '*was standing*.....*and thus was praying*' (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ). In this way the historic present and the independent participle of *S* are both made to disappear.

After Imperatives and some other expressions, such as ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ 'he was accustomed,' we find the bare Participle used, as is noted in Nöldeke § 272. Thus Lk xii 13 'Speak to my brother *to divide* (μερίσασθαι) the inheritance with me' is rendered in syr.vg, as well as *S C*,

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ

*lit.* 'Speak to my brother *dividing* with me the inheritance.' It is this construction which I believe to be intended in Matt xv 26 *S*,

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܐ

*It is not fitting [for folk] to take the sons' bread to cast it to the dogs.*

<sup>1</sup> For the inconsistencies exhibited by the Peshitta text in the phrase 'answered and said,' see the Appendix at the end of this chapter.

Here instead of ܪܡܢ *rāmēn* we find in *C* and syr.vg ܠܬܝܬܬܐܠܝܬܐ 'and to cast it,' in accordance with καὶ βαλεῖν in the Greek. But the construction of *S* sounds to me idiomatic and original, although the antecedent to ܪܡܢ has to be wholly inferred from the context<sup>1</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 286.] The Infinitive is used, as Dr Nöldeke says 'als eine Art Epexegeze,' e.g. Matt ii 20 ܠܬܝܬܬܐܠܝܬܐ ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ 'they were seeking the lad's life to snatch away,' where 'to snatch away' is omitted by *S*. Here ܠܬܝܬܬܐܠܝܬܐ 'to snatch it away' would have been possible, but with transitive verbs the addition of the suffix is not necessary. When however the verb requires after it a construction with a preposition the suffix is necessary after the pronoun, e.g. in Ps civ 26 ܠܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܗ ܝܨܪܐܝܝܬ ܠܫܚܩ ܒܐ where we in English can say 'Leviathan, that Thou hast formed to laugh at,' the Syriac like the Hebrew must say 'Leviathan, that Thou hast formed to laugh at it'.<sup>2</sup>

This will explain the phrase ܠܬܝܬܬܐܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܝܬܝܬܐ in Joh xxi 5 *S*. Verbs of eating, such as ܬܝܬܝܬܐܠܝܬܐ and ܬܝܬܝܬܐܠܝܬܐ, usually govern an accusative; followed

<sup>1</sup> Dr Merx, in his always interesting notes on the text of *S* (*Die Vier Kanonischen Evangelien: .. Erläuterungen .. von Adalbert Merx*, i 248 ff), takes a widely different view. Deliberately disregarding the Greek, and even the text of *S* in the parallel passage Mk vii 27, he considers ܪܡܢ to refer to ܬܝܬܝܬܐܠܝܬܐ and makes ܐ a relative: the saying of Christ thus becomes 'Is it not fitting to take the bread that the sons cast to the dogs?' i.e. 'is it not fitting that I, cast out as I am by the Jews, should help the Gentiles?' To this question the woman replies by an eager affirmative. According to Dr Merx, the ordinary text of S. Matthew and also the parallel passage in S. Mark have been corrupted by a Judaistic re-editing (*Verjüdung*), which *S* alone has escaped.

It is undoubtedly much easier to construe *S* in the way advocated by Dr Merx, but I cannot believe that his translation gives the sense intended by the scribe. When I find τὸν ἄρτον τῶν τέκνων in the Greek and ܠܬܝܬܐܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܝܬܝܬܐ in the Syriac translation, I cannot but believe that ܐ denotes the genitive and that the phrase means 'the bread of the sons.' Moreover Aphraates 149, in an allusion which I omitted to quote in vol i, pp. 88, 89, as being too paraphrastical for textual purposes, says that those who assiduously beg for mercy are the dogs that receive the sons' bread and they cast to them (ܠܬܝܬܐܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܝܬܝܬܐ). Dr Merx wishes to emend this also and to cut out the ܐ before ܪܡܢ, but as it stands it attests the expression *the sons' bread*, and a very little imagination is needed to believe that the phrase in Aphraates is a somewhat mechanical reminiscence of the text of *S*, understood as I have understood it and not as Dr Merx has done.

If it be necessary to choose an antecedent to ܪܡܢ in *S*, I should be inclined mentally to supply ܐ after ܬܝܬܐܠܝܬܐ. Similarly in Mk vii 27 the Palestinian Lectionary has *It is not good that we should take the sons' bread and (that) we should cast it to the dogs*. But no word is really required, seeing that in Joh xviii 8 *S* renders ἄφετε τούτους ὑπάγειν by ܕܡܝܢ ܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܝܬܝܬܐ.

<sup>2</sup> ܠܬܝܬܐܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܝܬܝܬܐ.

by ܡܝ they signify 'to eat *part* of a thing.' But 'to eat *of* a joint' is ܡܝ ܕܠܝܢܐ. The expression is fairly common in Hebrew, e.g. Judg xiii 16, but it also occurs in Syriac, e.g. Job xxi 25 in imitation of the Hebrew. Hence ܡܝ ܕܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ means 'Have ye anything to eat of?' The choice of the preposition to be used was no doubt due to the fact that the Greek is μή τι προσφάγιον ἔχετε;

The confused construction of Lk iii 8 *C*, is not supported by *S*, which has ܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ where *C* has ܡܝܢܐ for ܡܝܢ. The text of *C* (noticed in *Nöldeke* § 286) appears to be nothing more than an unskilful mixture of the phraseology of Matt iii 9 with that of *S* in S. Luke.

A good example of the Infinitive used without a finite verb to express 'must' is Joh ix 30, where *S* has ܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ 'this is something to wonder at!' The Peshitta inserts ܡܝܢ after ܡܝܢܐ and omits ܡܝܢ.

[*Nöldeke* § 290.] A noteworthy example of a double accusative is to be found in ܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ Lk ii 35 *S*, corresponding to καὶ σοῦ [δέ] αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία. The text is supported by a fragment of the original Syriac of S. Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron preserved by Isho'dād, who has ܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ. The meaning is apparently 'And through thine own self thou shalt cause a spear to pass,' but no other authority has the verb in the 2nd person. For the use of ܡܝܢܐ with an accusative instead of with ܡܝܢ see Lk xix 1, where we find ܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ in *S*, instead of ܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢܐ.

[*Nöldeke* § 295.] The Infinitive absolute is much more commonly used in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* than in the Peshitta. ܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܢܐ Joh x 20 (*Gr.* μαίνεται) appears to be the only instance in the Peshitta Gospels where the idiom is not actually indicated in the Greek. In one instance, ܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܢܐ Lk viii 50, where it occurs in *C* but not in *S* or the Peshitta, the reading of *C* is supported by Aphraates, by the Commentary of S. Ephraim, and by the *Acts of Thomas*. It is possible, however, that this last quotation may be based on Mk v 36, a passage for which *S* is unfortunately not extant.



[Nöldeke § 304.] In Lk xviii 3 *S* has **𐌺𐌹𐌸 𐌸𐌹𐌸 𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌸**, where *C* and the Peshitta have **𐌸𐌹𐌸 𐌸𐌹𐌸**<sup>1</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 328 B.] Both *S* and *C* are among the 'ancient documents' that invariably use 𐤌𐤍 𐤁 and not 𐤁. The Peshitta on the other hand contains 𐤁 several times, e.g. Joh vii 25.

[illegible]

The Peshitta has ܠܟܐ instead of ܠܐ in Matt vi 1, and ܠܐ ܐܪ in Matt vi 24 and Lk xvi 13. In Matt ix 16, 17, and Mk ii 21, 22, it has ܠܐ but except in Mk ii 22 the construction is changed. In the other passages the verb comes immediately after ܠܐ, and in Matt ix 16 this is actually put in the future (...ܐܬܝܠܬܐ ܕܐܪܬܐ ܠܐ 'that the fulness of it *may not* pull,' etc.). We may remark in passing that the unusual divergence of the Peshitta from the Greek in this verse receives a natural explanation when viewed as a stylistic correction of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The Greek here has αἶρει γὰρ τὸ πλήρωμα κ.τ.λ., not εἰ δὲ μὴ, αἶρει τὸ πλήρωμα as in S. Mark. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* rendered both passages

<sup>1</sup> Here  $\text{ᲙᲟᲛ ᲕᲗ}$  is read by Mr Gwilliam's cod. 40, and by his 14 36 in Lk vii 37.

<sup>2</sup> Other instances of  $\Leftarrow \Delta$ , meaning 'else,' are to be found in ASD 47<sup>1</sup>, 68<sup>17</sup>, 69<sup>16</sup>; Aphraates 185<sup>20</sup>. (R.H.K.)

alike, as its custom often is, employing in each passage the idiomatic use of ܠܐ now under consideration. The Peshitta alters the idiom in Matt ix 16, but in so doing departs much further from the Greek. It is of course quite likely that in this particular phrase the official Peshitta text is simply reproducing a previous stylistic correction: we are even at liberty to conjecture that *C*, which is here missing, itself read ܐܢܬܐ ܠܐ<sup>1</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 338 c.] In more than a dozen passages the Peshitta begins a paragraph with ܐܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ 'And it came to pass that when...', corresponding to *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε* in Matt, and *καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς* or *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ* in Lk. The formula occurs in *S* in Matt xi 1 and xix 1, and perhaps also in Matt xxvi 1, but elsewhere it is avoided in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Usually the *ἐγένετο* is left untranslated, as in Matt xiii 53 and Lk x 38: in other places we find ܐܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ 'And it came to pass when...', e.g. Matt xi 1 *C*, xix 1 *C*, Lk i 41 *S*, ix 51 *C*. In the last passage *S* has ܐܬܐ without ܕܡܪܝܢ. It is possible that the original translation had regarded ܐܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ as an exact equivalent of *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε* and ܐܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ as an exact equivalent of *καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς*. But as above remarked the *ἐγένετο* is usually dropped in the Syriac rendering.

The idiom specially mentioned in § 338 c (*viz.* 'And it came to pass...and') occurs in Lk ix 28 *SC*, but in the Peshitta the intrusive *and* has been corrected out.

Here may conveniently be noticed the very curious *anacoluthon* introduced by the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Peshitta into their rendering of S. Matthew's phrase 'Now all this is come to pass that it might be fulfilled,' etc. (τοῦτο δὲ [ὅλον] γέγονεν ἵνα κ.τ.λ.). The phrase occurs in Matt i 22, xxi 4, xxvi 56, and in the Greek the construction is perfectly straightforward. But the Syriac has ܐܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ, just as if the translation had read ὁ instead of ὅλον. That it is a native idiom and not a translator's mistake is shewn by the retention of the phrase in the Peshitta: even in Matt xxvi 56, where *S* has in the plural ܐܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ, the Peshitta has ܐܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ. In Matt xxi 4 a few ancient Peshitta codices

<sup>1</sup> ܠܐ meaning 'else' also occurs in Lk x 6, where *S* reads ܐܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ (sic, see the List of Errata), i.e. *If (it be) otherwise, upon you it will return.*

[*Nöldeke* § 339.] In the ordinary Edessene Syriac, as known to us in writings dating from the 4th century onward, the conjunction 'and' is not used to introduce the apodosis. But in *S* and *C* there are several instances of this thoroughly Semitic idiom. The passages may be conveniently arranged under the two heads of *Temporal Sentences*, containing **ܐܬܝܬ** in the protasis, and *Conditional Sentences*, containing **ܐܝܬܝܢ** or **ܐܝܬܝܢܐ** in the protasis.

Matt iii 16 βαπτισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εὐθὺς ἀνέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἰδὸν...

but

S וַיֵּבֶר וַיֵּצֵא מִן הַמַּיִם וַיָּבֹא מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיִּפְתָּח הַשָּׁמַיִם

*And when He was baptized and came up from the water, [and] lo, the heavens were opened.*

Lk xiii 10 ff. The Greek text tells the story of the woman with the spirit of infirmity in the following manner: “<sup>10</sup>*Now* He was teaching... <sup>11</sup>*and lo*, a woman having a spirit.... <sup>12</sup>*Now* Jesus... (spoke) <sup>13</sup>*and* laid His hands on her.... <sup>14</sup>*Now* the ruler of the synagogue answered and...(complained). <sup>15</sup>*But* (δε) the Lord answered him and said ‘Hypocrite!’”

<sup>1</sup> A similar *anacoluthon* may be intended by the insertion of א before אבנה in Lk xxii 37 S, but I incline to think the א a mere scribe's blunder. A similar construction after א חלה is found in *Addai* 23<sup>4</sup>, 44<sup>3</sup>, as my friend Canon Kennett points out.

*S* and *C* without substantial variation have: “<sup>10</sup>*And when* He was teaching... <sup>11</sup>*and* there was there a woman that had a spirit... <sup>12</sup>*and* Jesus...(spoke) <sup>13</sup>*and* laid His hands on her.... <sup>14</sup>*And* the ruler of the synagogue answered and...(complained). <sup>15</sup>Jesus answered and said to him: ‘Respecter of persons!’”

It is surely unreasonable to take all the clauses in *vv.* 10—14 inclusive as introductory to the reply of our Lord in *v.* 15. Is it not more natural to regard *v.* 11 as the apodosis to *v.* 10? When Jesus was teaching in a synagogue one Sabbath, a certain woman (we are told) was present.

The Peshitta retains the ‘*when*’ of *SC* in *v.* 10, but omits the introductory ‘*and*’ in *v.* 11, so that it reads “<sup>10</sup>*Now when* Jesus was teaching... <sup>11</sup>there was there a woman, etc.”; a new sentence begins at *v.* 12 with “*Now* Jesus saw her.” Evidently therefore the **ⲁ** in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* at the beginning of *v.* 11 was taken as the introduction to the apodosis, and is accordingly omitted in the Peshitta in agreement with the later theory of Syriac syntax.

Joh iv 1—3. This is another case where the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had **ⲁⲛ** in the protasis and **ⲁ** in the apodosis, and where the Peshitta in getting rid of this antiquated construction departed still more widely from the Greek. The Greek has ὥς οὖν ἔγνω in *v.* 1, followed by a rather long parenthesis, but *v.* 3 takes up the principal narrative, beginning ἀφῆκεν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. This is properly and idiomatically rendered in *S* by **ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲛ** followed in *v.* 3 by **ⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲙⲉⲫⲁⲣⲣⲉⲥⲏ**. *C* is here mutilated, but from the space it is evident that *v.* 1 began with **ⲁⲛ** as in *S*, and *v.* 3 with **ⲙⲉⲫⲁⲣⲣⲉⲥⲏ** or **ⲙⲉⲫⲁⲣⲣⲉⲥⲏ**. The Peshitta has **ⲙⲉⲫⲁⲣⲣⲉⲥⲏ** like *S*, but it omits **ⲁⲛ** at the beginning of *v.* 1. The fact that the Peshitta has the **ⲁ** at the beginning of *v.* 3 is a clear indication that its insertion is no mere peculiarity of *S* but a characteristic reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

Other instances of **ⲁⲛ** followed by **ⲁ** are Matt ix 18 *S*, Matt xii 9 *C*, (not *S*), xviii 8, 9 *S* (**ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲓⲁ** sic <sup>2</sup>/<sub>2</sub>: not *C*); Mk x 46 *S*, xi 15 *S* (**ⲁⲓⲁ**, cf syr.vg); Lk xix 1, 2 *S* (not *C*), xix 36 *S* (not *C*).

Somewhat similar is Joh xvi 6. Here *S* has

**ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ**

*For because I have said to you these things [and] sorrow hath come and filled your hearts.*



(B) Conditional Sentences.

Here  $S$  and  $C$  have

א. גם נאציסם גבירא כלבס..... נוצירא למבשרא לבדנא...  
 46. נאציסם נוצירא נאציסם...

The apodosis is thus clearly introduced by **ā**, which we have to leave untranslated, or render by 'then.' The Peshitta agrees in the rendering of these verses with *S C*, but it omits the characteristic **ā** before **𐤀𐤁𐤏** at the beginning of *v.* 46, in accordance with the accepted syntactical theory.

Matt xviii 12 *S*

א. משה ואלה שמות בני ישראל אשר באו מצריפט  
 ואלה שמות בני ישראל אשר באו מצריפט

Here *C* and the Peshitta have another word for sheep, and they also omit the **α** before **κλ**.

Matt xx 28 *fin.* C

[illegible]

*But if thou sit down to meat in a lesser place, and there come one less than thou, and the lord of the supper say to thee 'Bring thyself and come up and sit down to meat,' then thou shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests.*



The illegibility of the **א** in Lk xi 8 is all the more to be regretted, as the sentence is of a somewhat different type to those we have been examining. The **א** has a concessive force, i.e. 'though' or 'even if,' and in the apodosis the first word is not a verb, but a noun preceded by a preposition.

Lk xviii 4, 5 S

אם אלהים לא העל אנה ספק כי אנה לא מחבטני אנה  
אמא איזבלה נמנה מלכא לא מחבטני<sup>5</sup>

*Though of God I am not afraid and for man I have no reverence, <sup>5</sup>yet this widow who thus fatigueth me I will requite.*

C has **בכלב** instead of **נמנה**; the relative thus being dropped, **אמא** now begins a third conjunctive clause of the protasis, and the apodosis consists of the single word **מחבטני** 'I will requite her.' For **א....אמא[א]** the Peshitta has

אם מלך נמנה לא אמא איזבלה

so that the sentence runs '*Though of God I am not afraid and of men I have no reverence, even though it is because this widow fatigueth me, I will requite her.*' This contains an admirable rendering of **διὰ γε τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον τὴν χήραν ταύτην**, but it will be noticed that in this rendering also the **א** before the apodosis has disappeared.

Lk ix 58 S

אם אלהים לא מחבטני אלהים לא מחבטני  
אם אלהים לא מחבטני אלהים לא מחבטני

*Though the foxes have dens and the birds of the heaven have nests, yet the Son of Man hath not where He may rest His head.*

In agreement with the Greek, C and the Peshitta omit **א** and read **אם אלהים** instead of **אם אלהים**, besides one or two minor variations.

The word **אם** 'yea' is written **א** in Lk xii 5 S, but there can be little doubt that **א** here stands in S for 'if' or 'though'.<sup>1</sup> An 'if' is more than once inserted in S where the construction seemed to require it, e.g. Matt xiii 28, Mk xii 37. But the half dozen instances which I have given of conditional sentences, in which the apodosis

<sup>1</sup> So also Dr Merx in his translation, p. 133.





similarly in syr.vg with the substitution of ,ܡܠܝܬܐ for the last word. Only in the Harelean do we find ,ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܒܕܝܐ ܐܡܢ ܕܐ.

In view of the concession to Greek idiom made by the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in Matt x 11, it is a remarkable circumstance that in D and that excellent minuscule cod. 28 the clause runs ἡ πόλις εἰς ἣν ἂν εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς αὐτήν, κ.τ.λ. Why do Western authorities thus syriacize at a point where Syriac texts graecize?

And in Mk vi 10, where the Greek is ὅπου ἐὰν εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς οἰκίαν, a phrase which reads like a translation from a Semitic original, why are S and syr.vg assimilated to the phraseology of the other Gospels?

It is easier to ask these questions than to suggest a satisfactory solution.

[Nöldeke § 355.] In my translation I have uniformly left the relative in short adjectival or adverbial phrases untranslated, wherever the verbal construction is left unexpressed. Thus ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ really means 'the things that are in heaven,' but ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ is better rendered into English by 'our Father in heaven,' than by the full verbal statement 'our Father, who art (or, who is) in heaven'.<sup>1</sup> The mere fact that the relative in Syriac is a light unaccented half-syllable has doubtless helped the tendency of the language to insert it where the sense would be over-expressed by the English relative.

[Nöldeke § 358 B.] See above, on § 338 C.

[Nöldeke § 373.] In three passages ܡܠܟܐ seems to stand elliptically at the beginning of a sentence. The use of ܡܠܐ for ܡܠܐ in prohibitions is not found in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, unless we regard Joh v 45 C as an exception, so it is improbable that the ܐ in ܡܠܐ stands for 'inverted commas,' like ὅτι *recitativum*. The instances are

(i) Matt viii 4 (Jesus saith to him Ὅρα μηδενὶ εἰπῆς)

ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ...ܡܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ S C

where the Peshitta has ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ instead of ܡܠܐ, i.e. 'See, do not say to any one.' Thus in S C ܡܠܐ corresponds to ὅρα and the negative contained in μηδενί.

<sup>1</sup> Of course ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ could not be used in Syriac for 'our heavenly Father' (cf Matt xviii 10 'their-angels in-heaven-behold my-Father-in-heaven').



An expression similar in construction to  $\text{הם יצאו}$  is to be found in Matt xiii 10, where  $S$  has  $\text{הם יצאו}$  while  $C$  and syr.vg have  $\text{הם יצאו}$ .

[§ 374, *Note at end.*] The use of ܐܘ to express *av*, common in later Syriac translations from the Greek, is naturally absent from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. But *S* preserves two instances of the use of ܐܘ in alternatives (Nöldeke § 372 B), corresponding to أَمْ in Arabic<sup>1</sup>. Thus Mk xiii 35 *S*

[illegible]

*For ye know not when the master of the house cometh, not whether it be in the evening-time, nor whether in the midnight, nor whether in the morning twilight, nor whether at the dawn.*

The Peshitta has ܐܪ in each case in place of ܐܪ, to agree with the Greek  $\eta$ .

Similarly in Matt xviii 8 *S\** has '*it is better for thee to enter life* ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܐܪ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܐܪ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ *whether lame or halt.*' The ܐܪ has been apparently washed out of the text by a corrector and does not appear in *C* or the Peshitta, but the occurrence of the word in Mk xiii 35 inclines me to believe it genuine here also.

The same use of  $\kappa$  is retained in the N.T. Peshitta outside the Gospels, e.g. in Rom i 16, where Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι is rendered

א מן המזבח קדש קדש

[Nöldeke § 375 A.] The use of ܐܠܐ in *S* and *C* is the same as in other Syriac documents, i.e. it introduces a hypothesis which is regarded by the speaker as impossible. Thus ܐܠܐ ܕܗܝܠܐ ܕܐܠܐ is 'if he had not been born.' The use of ܐܠܐ, therefore, in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* for the sayings in Matt xvii 20 and Lk xvii 6 about faith as a grain of mustard-seed adds a tone of impatience and regret which

<sup>1</sup> According to *Wright* ii § 166 the Arab grammarians distinguish between alternatives separated by **ام** and by **او**. In the former case one of the alternatives is known by the speaker to be true, in the latter no knowledge is assumed.

is lost in the Peshitta. ܐܠܐ is practically our 'if only':—'if only,' says Christ to the apostles, 'ye had the grain of faith which ye have not, ye would have said....'

[§ 375 B.] Just like our 'if only,' the sense of ܐܠܐ passes into that of a wish, and Lk xii 49 *C* is worth quoting here as a parallel to the passage of the Julian Romance quoted by Dr Nöldeke. In *Julian* 23<sup>22</sup> the Jews say ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܫܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ i.e. 'And how much ye would have been pleased if only our star had set!' This is in form exactly like ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܫܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ, i.e. 'And how I should be pleased if only the fire had been already kindled!' For the first clause *S* has ܡܢ ܕܢܫܐ, perhaps a slip for ܡܢ ܕܢܫܐ, but the construction of ܐܠܐ is the same as in *C*. The Peshitta agrees with *C* but omits ܡܢ.

### Vocabulary.

The Vocabulary of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is characterised by a straightforward simplicity, which is to some extent preserved in the Peshitta. There are certain standing locutions which are used constantly to the exclusion of others that might be thought equally good Syriac. Of these the most remarkable is the use of ܢܝܐ 'life' for σωτήριον and σωτηρία as well as for ζωή. This extends to the verbal forms: ܡܢ is used for 'to save.' *Salvation* and *Life* were thus identical terms in Syriac theological language, a different word (ܕܡܝܐ) being reserved for 'deliverance.'

Similarly 'to come (or go) after' stands both for ἀκολουθεῖν and for ἔρχεσθαι ὀπίσω, and among nouns 'field' is ܕܡܝܐ and 'boat' is ܕܡܝܐ. To each of the last there is one exception: ܕܡܝܐ is used for 'field' in Lk xvii 7 *S*, and ܕܡܝܐ ('ship') is used for 'boat' in Matt xiv 22 *C*, a verse where *S* is illegible.

Notable Greek words are:—

ܕܡܝܐ occurs in Mk xii 38 *S*, Lk xx 46 *S C*, where the Greek has ἐν στολαῖς. The *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* apparently understood that the Scribes wished to walk ἐν Στοαῖς like the Philosophers: cf Joh x 23. ܕܡܝܐ for στολή occurs in Mk xvi 5 *S*, Lk xv 22 *S C*.



ܠܡܝܐ is used for ἡ παράλιος Lk vi 17 *S*. The Peshitta has ܠܡܝܐ.

ܡܝܐ occurs in Lk iv 29 *S* as the name of the hill, from which the people of Nazareth wished to throw Christ down. The Greek is ἕως ὀφρύος τοῦ ὄρους, rendered ܡܝܐ ܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ by *S*. Wellhausen (*Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1895, p. 4) suggests that ܡܝܐ is a transliteration of [ὄ]φρύος: possibly the word was understood as an equivalent of Φᾶρος, spelt elsewhere in Syriac ܡܝܐ and ܡܝܐ.

ܡܝܐ is used for πᾶσχα Mk xiv 1 *S*, Lk ii 41 *SC*, and also in Joh vi 4 *C*. See on ܡܝܐ below, and the Note on Joh vi 4.

ܡܝܐ is used for κεράτια Lk xv 16 *S*: see below.

ܡܝܐ is used for θαρσεῖτε Matt xiv 27 *S*, Mk vi 50 *S*. In the other passages where θάρσει occurs *S* has ܡܝܐ ܠ. *C* is only extant for Matt xiv 27, where it has ܡܝܐ; syr.vg uses ܡܝܐ everywhere.

The following words are noteworthy, as being adaptations from the Greek which are used to render other words than those of which they are adaptations.

ܡܝܐ (from τάχα): ܡܝܐ, used for εἰ ἄρα Mk xi 13 *S*.

ܡܝܐ (from λεκάνη): ܡܝܐ ܡܝܐ 'a dish for washing,' used for νιπτήρ Joh xiii 5 *S*, supported by Aphraates 226 and Ephr. *Lamy* i 657. The Peshitta has ܡܝܐ.

ܡܝܐ (from πιττάκιον): used for ἐπιγραφή Lk xxiii 38 *SC*, and also by Ephr. *Lamy* i 667. The Peshitta has ܡܝܐ.

ܡܝܐ Lk xxiii 19 *C* is quite obscure. It is obviously connected with ܡܝܐ *ver.* 25 *C*. In both places *S* has ܡܝܐ, and the Peshitta has ܡܝܐ, corresponding to στάσις in the Greek. The reading of *S* is obviously a correction for some misunderstood or miswritten word. Similarly we find ܡܝܐ in Mk xv 7, where syr.vg has ܡܝܐ.

It is highly probable that the original word was some adaptation of στάσις, and I venture to conjecture that ܡܝܐ ܡܝܐ Mk xv 7<sup>a</sup> *S* is a substitute for ܡܝܐ (i.e. στασιάριος, Bar Hebr. *Chr. Eccl.* ii 725<sup>3</sup>, *Nöld.* § 140), and that ܡܝܐ in Mk xv 7<sup>b</sup> *S*, Lk xxiii 19,

25 *S*, stands for ܠܫܝܢܐ (i.e. *sedition*, the crime of a *στασιάρχος*), a word that actually occurs elsewhere in Syriac (Guidi, *Statuti.. di Nisibi* GSAI iv 183<sup>3</sup>). It is easy to see how ܠܫܝܢܐ could be corrupted into the ܠܫܝܢܐ found in *C*, while ܫܝܢܐ appears to come from a further confusion of this word with ܫܝܢܐ, i.e. ܫܝܢܐ<sup>1</sup>.

More frequent than transliteration is the use of genuine Semitic phraseology to render technical terms. The list that follows is arranged in alphabetical order.

ܠܫܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܝܫܝܢܐ Joh x 22 *S* (= τὰ ἐνκαίνια). The use of ܠܫܝܢܐ, *lit.* 'honour,' for *Dedication* is curiously illustrated from the inscriptions on Palmyrene tombs. In addition to the inscription of ownership, which usually begins 'This grave (ܩܒܪܐ ܕܢܐ) was made by So-and-so,' there is in at least two cases a tablet under an ornamental niche, which says 'This memorial (or this statue), which is ܝܩܪ ܒܬ ܥܠܡܐ, was set up by So-and-so to the honour of his family' (*De Vogüé* i pp. 40, 41, and p. 47). The setting up of the ornamental statue of the family genius or of the guardian of the tomb was the Dedication of the building to sacred purposes, just as the setting up of the Altar by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc iv 56) was the Dedication of the Temple. In any case it is interesting to find the same technical term used by the Christians of Edessa as was used by their heathen cousins at Palmyra about a century earlier.

ܠܫܝܢܐ *a bier*, Lk vii 14 *S*<sup>vid</sup>. The original form of this Semitic word is preserved in the Arabic إِرَانٌ 'irān 'a bier.' This became in Hebrew אֲרוֹן, the long *ā* becoming *ō*, as usual. The meaning is 'box' or 'ark,' and so was used for the 'Ark of the Covenant.' The Hebrew word in this technical sense passed over into Jewish Aramaic and also into Edessene Syriac, but the *ō* of 'arōnā marks the word as borrowed from Hebrew. The Christian Palestinian (in Lk vii 14) has retained the word with the genuine Aramaic vowel, the spelling varying between ܠܫܝܢܐ and ܠܫܝܢܐ.

ܠܫܝܢܐ Lk ii 14 *S* (= εὐδοκία). The word corresponds exactly to רַעֲיוֹת Ezr v 17, vii 18. See above, on *Nöldeke* § 51.

<sup>1</sup> Somewhat similar to these words is ܠܫܝܢܐܐ, (i.e. *κνεστιονάρχοι, quaestionarii*), used in the Peshitta as the equivalent of *κουστωδία* Matt xxvii 65 ff. Here *S* has ܠܫܝܢܐܐ and ܠܫܝܢܐܐ. The word ܠܫܝܢܐܐ (always in the plural as here) is, however, common in Syriac literature.

ܐܝܬܕܝܬܠ Lk xxiii 48 *S C* (= συνπαράγενοίμενοι): cf Acts of Thomas 178. The word exactly corresponds to 'se trouver' in French.

ܝܬܕܝܬܠ to be excited (of persons), used by all Syriac versions for ἐμβριμάσθαι Joh xi 33, 38; also for ἀναστενάζειν Mk viii 12 *S*, and for διύσχυρίζεσθαι Lk xxii 59 *S C*. The word seems to be a metaphor taken from the stirring up of a storm.

ܦܪܬܝܐ praters Joh vii 49 *S*<sup>vid</sup> (see vol. i, p. 554), corresponding to ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος. Here *C* has ܦܪܬܝܐ.

ܠܐ ܕܠܐ: in Matt vi 7 *S* has 'do not be saying *battalāthā*,' i.e. idle things, to render μὴ βατταλογήσητε, and a similar rendering is found in the Palestinian Lectionary. *C* and the Peshitta have 'be not stammering' (ܡܬܦܪܩܩܝܢ), i.e. μὴ βαττολογήσητε. Is it possible that the word βατταλογεῖν is actually an early Christian coinage from the Aramaic?

ܠܐܬܐ the under-hair of camels, Matt iii 4 *S C*. The word also occurred in Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron, according to Ishô'dâd (*Harris*, p. 22).

ܕܝܝܠ Lk viii 6 *S C*. ܕܝܝܠ stands for φνὲν ἐξηράνθη, but ܕܝܝܠܝܠ means 'to be emaciated, wizened (from drought)' Ephr iv 491 B.

ܠܝܡܝܢ wild mint Matt xxiii 23 *S* (= ἡδύοσμον). *C* and syr.vg have the ordinary word ܠܝܡܝܢ, and so also *S* in Lk xi 42. The derivation of ܠܝܡܝܢ is obscure, but it does not seem to be a mis-writing of ἡδύοσμον in Syriac letters, as the *i* was quite clear in *S*.

ܠܝܡܝܢ ܠܝܝܢ seed of the Gentiles, used in Joh vii 35 *S C* for ἡ διασπορά τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ܠܝܝܢ, lit. 'Aramaean,' is the regular conventional equivalent in Christian Syriac for 'a heathen,' without ethnographic signification, e.g. Rom i 16. But the way ܠܝܝܢ is used suggests that the technical sense of διασπορά for 'the Dispersed Jews' was not familiar to the translator. The Peshitta here has 'the countries of the nations.' In James i 1 διασπορά is rendered 'those sown among the nations' (ܠܝܝܢ ܠܝܝܢ), and in 1 Pet i 1 the 'Diaspora of Pontus' is translated 'those sown in Pontus.'

ܠܝܢ. The use of ܠܝܢ, *life*, to render σωτηρία and σωτήριον, instead of some word meaning 'deliverance,' together with the corresponding

equivalence of **ܠܐ** and **σώζεσθαι**, belongs rather to theology and philosophy than to linguistics. It is noteworthy that this remarkable usage of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* whereby 'salvation' is identified with 'life,' was retained in syr.vg. The same definition of 'salvation' is given also by Clement of Alexandria: **Σωτηρία τοίνυν τὸ ἔπεσθαι Χριστῷ· ὃ γὰρ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἐστίν** (*Paed* I vi 27).

**ܠܗܝܬܝ ܕܡܝܬܝ** *the coming-to-life of the dead*, used for **ἀνάστασις** Matt xxiii 23, 28, 30, in *S* and partly also in *C* and syr.vg. It corresponds exactly to the Jewish **תחיית המתים**. The ordinary equivalent to **ἀνάστασις** is **ܠܗܝܬܝ**: it is noteworthy that the specifically Syriac term for the Resurrection, viz. **ܠܡܝܬܝ**, well used in the Peshitta of Joh xi 24, 25, does not occur in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Perhaps in early times **ܠܡܝܬܝ** meant **ἀνάψυξις** (Ac iii 19) rather than **ἀνάστασις**.

**ܠܡܝܬܝ** *to be acquainted with*, Mk xiv 68 *S*, Lk xxii 60 *S* (not *C*), Lk xxiv 18 *S C*, where other texts have **ܕܝܢܝܬܝܢ**. Hence **ܠܡܝܬܝܢ** *acquaintance*, used for **οἱ γνωστοί** Lk xxiii 49 *S C*, for **γνωστός** Joh xviii 15, 16 *S*. Similarly **ܠܡܝܬܝܢ**, used for "Boaz **בועז**" in Ruth iii 2 syr.vg. In all three places *S* spells the word **ܠܡܝܬܝܢ** (cf Nöldeke § 126 B).

**ܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܠܡܝܬܝܢ** *carob-pods of the sea*, used for **κεράτια** Lk xv 16 *C*, where *S* has **ܠܡܝܬܝܢ**, i.e. 'S. John's Bread,' the Carob-tree bean: see art. 'Husks' in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. But the addition of **ܠܡܝܬܝܢ** is very puzzling.

**ܠܡܝܬܝܢ**, i.e. *the hills*, is used for **ἀγρός** in the sense of 'the open-country' in Lk xii 28 *S C*, and **μέλι ἄγριον** is translated **ܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܠܡܝܬܝܢ** Matt iii 4 *S*. **ܠܡܝܬܝܢ**, *hill*, is used for this sense of **ἀγρός** in the Palestinian Lectionary.

**ܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܠܡܝܬܝܢ** Mk xii 14 *S* evidently differs from **ܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܠܡܝܬܝܢ**, the ordinary Syriac equivalent for 'poll-tax,' in order to indicate **ἐπικεφάλαιον** rather than **κῆνσος**.

**ܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܠܡܝܬܝܢ** Joh ix 21 *S*. For **αὐτὸς ἡλικίαν ἔχει** *S* has **ܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܠܡܝܬܝܢ** 'lo, he also hath become master of his years.' The Peshitta here has **ܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܠܡܝܬܝܢ** 'he also hath entered his years,' an almost equally idiomatic phrase.

**ܠܡܝܬܝܢ** Lk xvii 10 *C*. The word means 'the sweepings of a threshing-



floor,' 'chaff,' e.g. Amos viii 6. I have therefore translated ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܕܚܝܬܝܢ by 'slaves and riff-raff.' But it is not unlikely that the translator confused ἀχρεῖοι *useless* with ἄχυροι *chaff-heaps*. The use of the rare Syriac word ܠܬܝܬܝܢ in this forced and unnatural connexion probably led to its omission in *S*, followed by the Ethiopic version.

ܠܬܝܬܝܢ *the morning-twilight watch*, Mk xiii 35 *S*, is fem. to agree with ܠܬܝܬܝܢ understood. The Greek has ἀλεκτοροφωνία.

ܠܬܝܬܝܢ Joh iii 2 *S*, ܠܬܝܬܝܢ Joh iv 48 *C*, well known as a Jewish Aramaic term for 'miracle.' In Syriac it seems only to be used in the plural, chiefly in the phrase ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܠܬܝܬܝܢ (i.e. σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, as in Joh iv 48 and in Aphraates 181, 273). But in Joh iii 2 *S* ܠܬܝܬܝܢ corresponds to σημεῖα alone.

ܠܬܝܬܝܢ *to cast lots*, Matt xxvii 35 *S*, Lk xxiii 34 *S C*, where the Greek has βάλλειν κλήρον. The ordinary Syriac phrase is ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܠܬܝܬܝܢ, as in Mk xv 24 *S*; but ܠܬܝܬܝܢ also occurs in Joh xix 24 syr.vg, where however the Greek has λαγχάνειν without κλήρον.

ܠܬܝܬܝܢ *unleavened bread* (τὰ ἄζυμα), used in *S. John* to render πᾶσχα. See above on ܠܬܝܬܝܢ, and the Note on Joh vi 4.

ܠܬܝܬܝܢ *the mob, the common people*, Joh vii 49 *C*. The Greek is only ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος, but the comparatively rare Syriac word exactly hits the sense required. *S* has ܠܬܝܬܝܢ *praters*: the ܬ and the ܠ are quite clear in the photograph taken by Mrs Lewis in 1902 (see above, p. 81). Possibly the original Syriac was ܠܬܝܬܝܢ *outsiders*, as in Mk iv 11.

ܠܬܝܬܝܢ (with suffix) for ὅλως, Matt v 34 *S C*, Joh ix 34 *S*: see on Nöldeke § 155.

ܠܬܝܬܝܢ *a puddle, shallow pool*, Matt xiii 5 *S* (as I read the photograph). The word occurs in a gloss on τὰ πετρώδη, inserted apparently to shew that there was there a little moisture, though without 'depth of earth.' ܠܬܝܬܝܢ is used in Exod ii 3 syr.vg to translate ἦμαρ.

ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܠܬܝܬܝܢ *letting the hands hang down* (i.e. 'helplessness'), and ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܠܬܝܬܝܢ *clasping the hands together* (i.e. 'perplexity') are used to render ἀπορία Lk xxi 25. The former is in *S*, the latter in *C* and syr.vg.

ܠܥܝܢ Matt vi 5 *S*, Lk xiv 21 *S C*, is used to render ῥύμη 'lane,' as distinguished from ܠܥܐܝܢ 'bazar,' a word which corresponds both to ἀγορά and to πλατεῖα. Like some other words for 'small street' in various languages ܠܥܝܢ means by etymology 'a fissure.'

ܠܗܠܠܐ blue-purple, used as a technical term for the 'ribband of blue' worn on a Jew's dress in accordance with Nu xv 38. It corresponds to κράσπεδον in Matt xiv 36 *C*, Matt xxiii 5 *S C* (and syr.vg). In Matt ix 20 *S* has ܠܥܝܢ (as also in xiv 36), while syr.vg has ܠܥܝܢ: it may therefore be conjectured that here also ܠܗܠܠܐ was the original reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. Was there a prejudice against representing our Lord as dressed in a distinctively Jewish garb?

ܠܦܠܐܝܬ, i.e. Hebr. תפילין, used by syr.vg in Matt xxiii 5 for φυλακτήρια, but *S C* have ܠܥܝܢܐܝܬ ܠܥܝܢܐ 'the straps of their phylacteries.'

ܠܗܠܠܐ ܠܗܠܐ an insipid fig-tree, Lk xix 4 *S C* and syr.vg (= συκομορέα). There does not seem to be any other instance of ܠܗܠܐ in the sense of 'wild': in fact, the natural rendering of ܠܗܠܐ ܠܗܠܐ is 'a fig that has gone bad,' and it is difficult to resist the obvious explanation that the translator did not know what tree was meant and translated the word as if it were συκὴν μωράν. In Lk xvii 6 *S C* and syr.vg translate συκάμινος by ܠܗܠܐ i.e. 'mulberry.'

The Diatessaron, on the other hand, translated συκομορέα in Lk xix 4 by ܠܥܝܢܐ, the tree whose name forms part of the word 'Bethphage,' and if we may trust the Arabic (*Diat* xxxiii 10) it had 'fig' instead of mulberry in the passage corresponding to Lk xvii 6.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

(A) *Renderings of εὐθύς, εὐθέως, and kindred expressions.*

The renderings for εὐθύς which we commonly find in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* are ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ, ܡܬܝܚܐ ܝܐ, ܠܬܝܚܐ, and simple omission. In Latin also several renderings (including simple omission) are found, such as *continuo*, *confestim*, *protinus*, and *statim*. The lists which follow were originally drawn up in order to ascertain whether the Latin and the Syriac renderings shewed any tendency to agree independently of the Greek, but such is not the case, even with regard to omissions.

	S	C	Syr. vg
Matt iii 16 εὐθύς	om.	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܚܐ
iv 20 εὐθέως	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܚܐ
22 εὐθέως (om. lat.vt)	om.	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܚܐ
viii 3 εὐθέως (om. N*)	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ
13 ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ
ix 25 (παράρημα Φ)	ܡܬܝܚܐ ܝܐ	hiat	om. (= rel.)
30 (after καὶ: cf xx 34)	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	hiat	ܠܬܝܚܐ
xiii 5 εὐθέως	ܡܬܝܚܐ ܝܐ	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܡܬܝܚܐ ܝܐ
20 εὐθύς (om. e)	om.	ܬܠܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܡܬܝܚܐ ܝܐ
21 εὐθύς	ܬܠܬ	ܬܠܬ	ܬܠܬ
xiv 22 εὐθέως (om. N*C*al)	illegible	om.	ܠܬܝܚܐ
27 εὐθύς	ܠܬܝܚܐ	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܡܬܝܚܐ ܝܐ
31 εὐθέως	ܠܬܝܚܐ	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܡܬܝܚܐ ܝܐ
xx 34 εὐθέως	hiat	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܡܬܝܚܐ ܝܐ
xxi 2 εὐθέως (om. lat.eur)	hiat	ܠܡ	ܠܬܝܚܐ
3 εὐθύς	hiat	ܠܬܝܚܐ	ܠܬܝܚܐ
19 παράρημα	hiat	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܚܐ
20 παράρημα	ܡܬܝܚܐ ܝܐ	ܡܬܝܚܐ ܝܐ	ܡܬܝܚܐ ܝܐ
xxiv 29 εὐθέως	ܠܬܝܚܐ	hiat	ܠܬܝܚܐ
xxv 15 ad fin. εὐθέως	illegible	,,	ܠܬܝܚܐ
xxvi 49 εὐθέως	om.	,,	ܠܬܝܚܐ
74 εὐθύς (or -έως)	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	,,	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ
xxvii 48 εὐθέως	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ	,,	ܠܬܬܝܠܝܬ ܡܢ

	<i>S</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>Syr.vg</i>
Mk i 10 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D lat.eur)	<i>hiat</i>	<i>hiat</i>	ܠܥܬܪܐ
12 εὐθὺς	<i>hiat</i>	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
18 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> c)	ܠܥܬܪܐ ܡܡ	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
20 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> b t)	ܠܥܬܪܐ ܡܡ	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
21 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> c)	<i>om.</i>	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
23 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> 5D latt)	( <i>om.</i> )	”	<i>om.</i>
28 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> N* 1 28 lat.vt)	<i>om.</i>	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
29 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D e c ff r)	<i>om.</i>	”	<i>om.</i>
30 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> b c ff q r)	<i>om.</i>	”	<i>om.</i>
31 (εὐθέως, <i>om.</i> N Bal e arm)	ܠܥܬܪܐ ܡܡ	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
42 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> b c r)	ܠܥܬܪܐ ܡܡ	”	ܡܡ ܠܥܬܪܐ
43 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> e b c aeth)	<i>om.</i>	”	<i>om.</i>
ii 2 (εὐθέως, <i>om.</i> N Bal)	<i>hiat</i>	”	<i>om.</i>
8 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D 28 565 al)	<i>hiat</i>	”	<i>om.</i>
12 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> lat.vt)	<i>hiat</i>	”	ܡܡ ܠܥܬܪܐ
iii 6 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D L b c q)	ܡܡ ܠܥܬܪܐ	”	ܡܡ ܠܥܬܪܐ
iv 5 εὐθὺς	<i>om.</i>	”	ܡܡ ܠܥܬܪܐ
15 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> 1-209 arm)	<i>om.</i>	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
16 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D 28 c ff i q)	<i>om.</i>	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
17 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> 1-209)	<i>hiat</i>	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
29 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> e c)	<i>hiat</i>	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
v 2 (εὐθὺς, <i>om.</i> B lat.vt arm)	<i>om.</i>	”	<i>om.</i>
13 (εὐθέως, <i>om.</i> N Bal)	<i>om.</i>	”	<i>om.</i>
29 εὐθὺς	<i>hiat</i>	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
30 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> lat.eur)	<i>hiat</i>	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
36 (εὐθέως, <i>om.</i> NBD al latt. } exc. a)	<i>hiat</i>	”	<i>om.</i>
42 εὐθὺς	<i>hiat</i>	”	ܡܡ ܠܥܬܪܐ
vi 25 <sup>a</sup> εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D L 1 lat.vt)	ܠܥܬܪܐ	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
25 <sup>b</sup> ἐξαυτῆς ( <i>om.</i> D c f)	ܠܥܬܪܐ ܠܥܬܪܐ	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ ܠܥܬܪܐ
27 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> c ff vg)	<i>om.</i>	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
45 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> c)	ܠܥܬܪܐ	”	ܠܥܬܪܐ
50 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D 33 c ff i)	ܠܥܬܪܐ ܡܡ	”	ܡܡ ܠܥܬܪܐ



	<i>S</i>	<i>C</i>	Syr.vg
Mk vi 54 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. q</i> )	ܡ ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	<i>hiat</i>	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ
vii 25 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. a n q</i> )	<i>om.</i>	”	ܬܝܬܝܢ
35 (εὐθὺς, <i>om. B D lat.vt</i> )	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	”	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ
viii 10 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. D lat.vt exc. a</i> )	<i>om.</i>	”	ܬܝܬܝܢ
ix 8 ἐξάπινα (εὐθὺς <i>D lat.eur</i> )	ܠܬܝܬ ܦ	”	ܠܬܝܬ ܦ
15 εὐθὺς	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	”	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ
20 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. D lat.eur.</i> )	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	”	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ
24 εὐθὺς	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	”	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ
x 52 εὐθὺς	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	”	ܬܝܬܝܢ
xi 2 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. k</i> )	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	”	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ
3 εὐθὺς	ܬܝܬܝܢ	”	ܬܝܬܝܢ
xiv 43 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. D l 13 565 latt</i> )	<i>om.</i>	”	<i>om.</i>
45 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. D 565 lat.vt</i> )	ܬܝܬܝܢ	”	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ
72 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. 5</i> )	<i>om.</i>	”	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ
xv 1 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. a c</i> )	<i>om.</i>	”	ܬܝܬܝܢ
Lk i 64 παραχρῆμα ( <i>om. e</i> )	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	<i>hiat</i>	ܬܝܬܝܢ
ii 38 αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	”	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ
iv 39 παραχρῆμα	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ	”	ܬܝܬܝܢ
v 13 εὐθέως	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ	”	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ
25 παραχρῆμα	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	”	ܬܝܬܝܢ
39 (εὐθέως, <i>om. NB</i> <i>om. ver D latt</i> )	<i>hiat</i>	”	ܬܝܬܝܢ
vi 49 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. D a c</i> )	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ	”	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ
vii 21 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	”	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ ܡܐ
viii 44 παραχρῆμα	<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>	ܬܝܬܝܢ
47 παραχρῆμα	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ	ܬܝܬܝܢ
55 παραχρῆμα ( <i>om. N*</i> )	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ	ܬܝܬܝܢ
x 21 ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ( <i>die e</i> )	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܐ
xii 36 εὐθέως ( <i>om. e Cyp</i> )	ܬܝܬܝܢ	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ	ܬܝܬܝܢ
54 εὐθέως	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ	<i>om.</i>	ܬܝܬܝܢ
xiii 13 παραχρῆμα	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ	ܡܬܝܥ ܝܐ	ܬܝܬܝܢ

	S	C	Syr.vg
Lk xiv 5 εὐθέως	om.	ܠܗܝܬܐ	ܠܗܝܬܐ
xvii 7 εὐθέως (om. b s ff i q)	ܠܗܝܬܐ	ܡܬܝܥܝܬܐ	ܠܗܝܬܐ
xviii 43 παραχρῆμα	ܡܬܝܥܝܬܐ	ܡܬܝܥܝܬܐ	ܡܬܝܥܝܬܐ
xix 11 παραχρῆμα (om. e)	ܡܠ ܠܗܝܬܐ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ
xx 19 ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ (om. e)	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ ܡܠ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ ܡܠ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ
xxi 9 οὐκ εὐθέως	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܠ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܠ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܠ
xxii 60 παραχρῆμα	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ	ܠܗܝܬܐ
xxiv 31 (om. Gr)	ܠܗܝܬܐ	ܠܗܝܬܐ	ܠܗܝܬܐ
33 αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ
Joh v 9 εὐθέως (om. N* D l arm)	ܡܬܝܥܝܬܐ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ	ܡܬܝܥܝܬܐ
vi 21 εὐθέως	ܡܬܝܥܝܬܐ	ܡܠ ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ
xi 44 (εὐθύς D p r f vg)	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ	hiat	om. (= rell.)
xiii 30 εὐθύς (om. e)	om.	„	ܡܬܝܥܝܬܐ
32 εὐθύς	ܠܗܝܬܐ	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ
xviii 27 εὐθέως	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ
xix 34 εὐθύς (om. e)	hiat	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ
xxi 3 (εὐθύς, om. N B al latt)	om.	„	om.

The most notable points that emerge from the above lists are :—

- (1) To render εὐθύς, εὐθέως, the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* tends to use ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ, the Peshitta to use ܠܗܝܬܐ.
- (2) In S. Luke ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܠ is avoided as a rendering of εὐθύς, εὐθέως. This is probably due to the fact that [ἐν] αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ is so often used by this Evangelist.
- (3) To render παραχρῆμα the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* never uses ܠܗܝܬܐ, which is the almost constant rendering in the Peshitta.
- (4) The omission of εὐθύς or εὐθέως rarely occurs, except in passages where a number of allied documents also omit.

(B) *Renderings of* ܐܘܢ.

The rendering of ܐܘܢ presents some interest on account of its extraordinary frequency as a connecting particle in S. John. The natural Syriac equivalent is ܕܠܐ, but like the English 'therefore,' to which it very nearly corresponds, it is slightly stronger than ܐܘܢ. Consequently we find in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* that ܐܘܢ and ܕܠܐ (i.e. δὲ) are used to render ܐܘܢ. Simple omission also is not infrequent.

A table of the renderings would be unsatisfactory on account of the fluctuation in the Greek text itself. In many instances it is impossible to ascertain what Greek particle was likely to have stood in the ms that the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was using.

A numerical reckoning of the occurrences of ܕܠܐ gives some remarkable results.

ܕܠܐ occurs in	S	C	Syr.vg	No. of times ܐܘܢ is given in Bruder's Concordance
Matt	16	24	41	56
Mk	4	<i>hiat</i>	7	11
Lk	11	9	21	46
Joh	2	4	11	212

No doubt in a large number of cases the ܐܘܢ which is left untranslated was absent even from the codex used for revising the Peshitta, but when every allowance is made these numbers shew at a glance how insupportable the Johannine ܐܘܢ was felt to be in a Semitic rendering. It is a remarkable circumstance that both in S. Mark and S. John we have a connecting word very frequently employed in a manner that is hardly Greek, and yet not at the first glance Semitic.

In the course of working at the Syriac equivalents for S. Mark's εἰθὺς and S. John's ܐܘܢ it has occurred to me that fundamentally they mean the same thing, and that they really correspond to the Hebrew 'wāw consecutive.' Not, of course, that either of these Gospels is a translation from the Hebrew; but if the authors of these Gospels were familiar with the Old Testament otherwise than through the awkward medium of the LXX, they might well have felt themselves in need of something to correspond to the Hebrew idiom. The essence of the meaning of 'wāw consecutive' is that the event related is regarded as happening in due sequence to what has gone before. To express this καὶ is too inadequate a link, while δὲ implies a contrast which is wholly wanting in the Hebrew: the turn of thought is more or less our English 'and so.' But this is exactly what S. Mark means by his καὶ εἰθὺς, and it is what is generally meant in the Fourth Gospel by ܐܘܢ. Simon's wife's mother was sick of a fever *and so* they tell Jesus of her (καὶ εἰθὺς Mk i 30): S. Mark does not mean to emphasise the haste they were in to tell the news. Similarly in S. John there are literally scores of verses beginning with εἰπεν ܐܘܢ or εἶπον ܐܘܢ where 'he said therefore' brings out far too prominently the idea of causation. All that is meant is ܐܘܢ 'and so he said,' or 'and so they said,' as the case may be.

The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is the translation of the Gospels which of all others is nearest in spirit to the evangelists themselves. That this translation so often omits εἰθὺς in S. Mark, and so often omits ܐܘܢ in S. John or translates it by a simple 'and,' is strong evidence that these particles are in their essential meaning nothing more than a copula—a copula, it may be, with a certain *nuance*, but still merely a copula.

(C) *Syriac equivalents for 'answered and said.'*

The Syriac renderings for ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν and the other Greek phrases which we usually render in English by 'answered and said' are ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'he answered and said' and the simple ܐܢܬܐ 'he said.' The tense of these verbs will be discussed in the latter part of this Note.

The chief results obtained from tabulating the actual renderings found in *SC* and *syr.vg* are as follows:

(1) When the sense really is 'to make a reply' the Syriac is ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ 'to give a response.' It is only when the sense is practically no more than 'to say' that the Syriac uses ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ or the simple ܐܢܬܐ.

(2) When ἀποκρίνεσθαι occurs alone without λέγειν the Syriac has ܐܢܬܐ not ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. The only exceptions are in the Peshitta text of S. John where 'answered and said' is found for ἀποκρίνεσθαι Joh v 7, 11, vi 68, viii 19, x 25, xiii (26,) 36, xviii 23, mostly without outside support. ܐܢܬܐ never occurs without ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. Even in Lk x 28 ὁρθῶς ἀπεκρίθη is rendered 'Well hast thou said!'

(3) In S. John, where the usual Greek phrase is ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν (or λέγει), *syr.vg* has 'answered and said' every time except Joh iv 17. In *S* and *C*, on the other hand, ܐܢܬܐ only occurs in

Joh ii 19 *S*, iii 9, 10 *C* (not *S* in either place), vii 16 *S* (not *C*), ix 20 *S*, xviii 30 *S*.

(4) In S. Matthew Syriac authorities read simple ܐܢܬܐ instead of ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ in the following places, practically without other support:—

Matt iii 15	<i>C</i>	xvii 4	<i>C</i>	xxiv 2	— <i>vg</i>
xii 38	<i>S(C)</i>	11	<i>C</i>	xxv 9	<i>S</i> —
xv 28	<i>S C vg</i>	xxi 27	<i>C</i>	37	— — <i>vg</i>
xvi 2	<i>C</i>	29	<i>S C</i>	xxvi 23	<i>S</i> —
17	<i>C</i>				

In the last four passages *C* is missing, and *S* is illegible in xxv 37. In Matt xii 38 *C* reads 'drew near' instead of 'answered' with *b* of the Old Latin.

(5) In S. Mark *C* fails us, and the many variations in the Greek make the task of enumerating the Syriac renderings more difficult and uncertain. In the following places *S* and *syr.vg* have ܐܢܬܐ instead of ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ without outside support:—

Mk vi 37	<i>S vg</i>	x 3	<i>vg</i>
vii 28	<i>S</i>	51	<i>vg</i>
viii 29	<i>S</i>	xii 35	<i>S</i>
		xv 12	<i>vg</i>

The omission of 'answered' in Mk xi 33<sup>a</sup> is doubtless connected with the other variations in that verse, and therefore is not counted here.



(6) In S. Luke our Syriac authorities have ܐܘܪܝܢ instead of ܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܐܘܪܝܢ without outside support in the following places:—

Lk i 60 S	x 27 C	xix 40 C vg
iii 11 S C	41 C	xx 3 C
16 C	xiii 8 C vg	39 S C
vii 40 S C	xv 29 C vg	xxiii 3 C vg
43 S C	xvii 17 C	40 S C vg
ix 19 (S) C	20 C	xxiv 18 S C
	37 S C	

In Lk i 60, the only place where *S* stands alone in omission, *C* is missing. On the other hand *S* has ܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܐܘܪܝܢ in Lk viii 46, 48, 50, where there is no ἀποκρίνεσθαι in the Greek, and also in Lk xx 34 where it is only found in inferior texts. In this last passage the Diatessaron seems to have had *Then said to them our Lord*, if we suppose that Aphraates 167 comes from Tatian's Harmony: the text of *S* may be an independent adaptation of Matt xxii 29.

The general impression left on me by these textual facts is that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* very often rendered ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν and the kindred phrases by simple ܐܘܪܝܢ, and that there was a further tendency to drop the 'answered and,' even where it once stood in the Syriac text. This tendency is especially visible in *C*. It is not the case that *S* has any general tendency to insert ܐܘܪܝܢ, for the only place where *S* has ܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܐܘܪܝܢ against the Greek is Lk viii 46—50. But in syr.vg the reviser, in remedying the almost total omission of ܐܘܪܝܢ from the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, did wrongly supply the word in a few passages.

In any case it is impossible to bring forward the 'Old Syriac' as an authority for the omission of ἀποκριθεὶς in these introductory phrases, though the presence of ܐܘܪܝܢ is good evidence that some form of ἀποκρίνεσθαι was contained in the text which lay before the translator.

The words ܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܐܘܪܝܢ may be vocalised 'ēnā wemar (i.e. 'he answered and said') or 'ēnā wāmar (i.e. 'he answered and saith'). As a matter of fact, the traditional pointing of the Syriac Vulgate always makes it 'he answered and said,' both for ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν and for ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει. The earliest Syriac MSS are not vocalised, but we may form some idea of the correctness of this vocalisation by observing how the form is rendered in the feminine and in the plural. In Syriac 'she answered and said' is ܕܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܐܘܪܝܢ, but 'she answered and saith' is ܕܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܐܘܪܝܢ. If the traditional vocalisation for the masc. sing. be correct, the latter form ought never to appear; and similarly we ought always to find ܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܐܘܪܝܢ, never ܐܘܪܝܢ ܕܐܘܪܝܢ.

But the fact is that 'they answered and say' is by far the more common formula. In the following Table the Peshitta renderings are given with the variants of *S* and *C*. Where no reading of *S* is given the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* has ܐܘܪܝܢ without ܐܘܪܝܢ.

	Syr.vg		Syr.vg
Matt xii 38	ܡܬܬܝܢ...ܗܘܐ	Mk vii 28	ܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ
xxi 27	ܡܬܬܝܢ ܗܘܐ (= S, om. C)	xi 33 <sup>a</sup>	ܡܬܬܝܢ ܗܘܐ
xxv 9	ܡܬܬܝܢ...ܗܘܐ		
44	ܡܬܬܝܢ...ܗܘܐ (= S)	Joh ii 18	ܡܬܬܝܢ...ܗܘܐ
xxvi 66	ܡܬܬܝܢ ܗܘܐ (ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ S)	vii 20	ܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ
xxvii 25	ܡܬܬܝܢ...ܗܘܐ (= S)	52	ܡܬܬܝܢ ܗܘܐ
		viii 39	ܡܬܬܝܢ ܗܘܐ
Lk i 60	ܡܬܬܝܢ...ܗܘܐ	48	ܡܬܬܝܢ...ܗܘܐ
ix 19	ܡܬܬܝܢ ܗܘܐ	ix 20	ܡܬܬܝܢ...ܗܘܐ (not S)
xvii 37	ܡܬܬܝܢ ܗܘܐ	34	ܡܬܬܝܢ ܗܘܐ
xx 39	ܡܬܬܝܢ...ܗܘܐ	xviii 30	ܡܬܬܝܢ ܗܘܐ (= S)

In Mk xi 33<sup>a</sup> some Peshitta mss have ܡܬܬܝܢ ܗܘܐ. In Joh ix 20 S has certainly ܡܬܬܝܢ, not ܡܬܬܝܢ. I have not given the Greek, as the Syriac renderings do not distinguish between ἀποκριθέντες λέγουσιν and ἀποκριθέντες εἶπον, or even ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ εἶπον. It must also be noticed that the Peshitta text in this matter cannot be explained as a survival from the 'Old Syriac,' for in most of the passages the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* has the single verb, and in Lk i 60 S has the perf. ܡܬܬܝܢ where syr.vg has ܡܬܬܝܢ...ܗܘܐ.

Under these circumstances it is almost impossible to believe that ܡܬܬܝܢ ܗܘܐ should uniformly have been intended for 'ēnā wemar in each of the 117 places where it occurs, and never for 'ēnā wāmar. The point in itself is of small importance, but it shews us that the traditional vocalisation of the Peshitta is not always to be trusted.

#### (D) The names of S. Peter.

The names by which S. Peter is spoken of afford a curious illustration of the danger of *a priori* reasoning in textual matters. The names actually found are (1) ܫܡܝܢ Shim'ôn, (2) ܟܦܬܐ Képhâ (i.e. 'Stone'), and (3) the double name ܟܦܬܐ ܫܡܝܢ Shim'ôn Képhâ. When once it was ascertained that the Syriac-speaking Church did not use the Greek name *Petros*, it might easily be assumed that *Shim'ôn* corresponded to Σίμων, and *Képhâ* to Κηφᾶς and to Πέτρος. But this is not always borne out by the actual evidence.

The Greek name *Petros* only occurs once, viz. Joh i 42 S, where Κηφᾶς, ὁ ἐρμηνεύεται Πέτρος, is rendered

ܡܬܬܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܬܬܝܢ ܟܦܬܐ

*Kepha, that is interpreted in Greek 'Petros.'*

Here C is missing, and syr.vg simply omits ὁ ἐρμηνεύεται Πέτρος, just as the similar clause ὁ ἔστιν μεθερμηνεύμενον Χριστός in the preceding verse is omitted by all the Syriac texts.

In a reference to the story of S. Peter walking on the water (Matt xiv 28) the name ܡܬܬܝܢ occurs twice in Ephraim *Overbeck* 27, but there is no exact quotation. In a somewhat similar allusion in *Lamy* i 263 the name 'Simon' only occurs.

As we should expect,  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$  is generally rendered by  $\text{ܣܝܡܘܢ}$  *Simon*, as always in the phrase *Simon, son of Jona*, and also in Matt xvii 25<sup>e</sup>; Mk i 16, 30, 36, xiv 37; Lk iv 38 *bis*, v 4, 5, 10 *bis*, xxii 31 *bis*, xxiv 34, but *Simon Kepha* is put for  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$  in Mk i 29 *S*, Lk v 3 syr.vg, Joh i 41 (42) *C*. The other Syriac texts have *Simon* alone in these three passages.

The following Table gives the Syriac renderings corresponding to  $\Pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\varsigma$  in the Greek Gospels. Where the Greek has  $\Sigma\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\nu$   $\Pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\varsigma$  the Syriac rendering is printed in *italics*.

S. MATT.	<i>S</i>	<i>C</i>	Syr.vg	
iv 18	<i>Simon</i>	<i>Simon...Kepha</i>	<i>Simon...Kepha</i>	
viii 14	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon	
x 2	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon...Kepha</i>	
xiv 28	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
29	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
xv 15	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	
xvi 16	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
18	—	Kepha	Kepha	
22	—	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
23	—	Simon	Kepha	
xvii 1	—	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
4	—	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
24	Simon	Simon	Kepha	
25 <sup>a</sup>	<i>om.</i>	Simon	<i>om.</i>	} There are here several insertions & transpo- sitions of S. Peter's name in Greek and Latin mss
25 <sup>b</sup>	<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>	Kepha	
26	<i>om.</i>	Simon	Simon	
xviii 21	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
xix 27	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Kepha	
xxvi 33	Simon Kepha	—	Kepha	
35	Simon Kepha	—	Kepha	
37	Simon	—	Kepha	
40	Simon	—	Kepha	
58	Simon	—	Simon Kepha	
69	Simon	—	Kepha	
73	Simon	—	Kepha	
75	Simon	—	Kepha	
S. MARK				
iii 16	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon...Kepha</i>	
v 37	—	—	Simon Kepha	

S. MARK	S	C	Syr.vg
viii 29	Kepha	—	Simon Kepha
32	Simon Kepha	—	Kepha
33	Kepha	—	Simon
ix 2	Kepha	—	Kepha
5	Kepha	—	Kepha
x 28	Kepha	—	Kepha
xi 21	Kepha	—	Simon
xiii 3	Kepha	—	Kepha
xiv 29	Kepha	—	Kepha
31	Simon	—	om. [syr.vg = 5 NBD latt]
33	Kepha	—	Kepha
37	Kepha	—	Kepha
54	Kepha	—	Simon
66	Kepha	—	Simon
67	om.	—	om. [syrr = 1 & c 13 & c 565 c]
70	Kepha	—	Kepha [om. D a]
72	Kepha	—	Simon
xvi 7	Kepha	—	Kepha
S. LUKE			
v 8	Simon	—	Simon Kepha [om. D 13 & c a b e]
vi 14	Simon...Kepha	—	Simon...Kepha
viii 45	Kepha	Kepha	Simon Kepha
51	Kepha	Kepha	Simon
ix 20	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon ['Simon Petrus' c ff q f vg]
28	Kepha	Kepha	Simon
32	Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon
33	Kepha	Kepha	Simon
xii 41	Kepha	Kepha	Simon Kepha
xviii 28	Kepha	Kepha	Simon Kepha
xxii 8	Kepha	Kepha	Kepha
34	Kepha	om.	Simon
54	Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon
55	Kepha	Kepha	Simon
58	om.	Kepha	Kepha [S = D lat.eur]
60	Kepha	Kepha	Kepha
61 <sup>a</sup>	Kepha	Kepha	Kepha
61 <sup>b</sup>	Kepha	Kepha	Simon [om. D 157 g a t]
62	om.	om.	Simon [syrr = NBD (om. v. 62 lat.vt)]
xxiv 12	Simon	Simon	Simon [om. v. 12 D lat.vt]



S. JOHN	S	C	Syr.vg	
i 40 (41)	<i>Simon</i>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	<i>Simon</i>	
42 (43)	Kepha, i.e. Petros	—	Kepha	
44 (45)	Simon	—	Simon	
vi 8	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
68	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
xiii 6 <sup>a</sup>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
6 <sup>b</sup>	Simon	—	Simon	[λέγει, <sup>1</sup> + 'Petrus' latt]
8	Simon	—	Simon Kepha	
9	<i>Simon</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	[om. Σίμων D]
24	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
36	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
37	Simon	—	Simon Kepha	[om. Πέτρος D]
xviii 10	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
11	Kepha	—	Kepha	
15	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
16 <sup>a</sup>	Simon Kepha	—	Simon	[for S, cf ver. 25]
16 <sup>b</sup>	Simon	—	Simon	
17	Simon	—	Simon	
18	Simon	—	Simon	
25	[om. (cf ev. 16 <sup>a</sup> , 18)]	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
26	Simon 'Kepha' <sup>1</sup>	—	Simon	
27	Simon	—	Simon	
xx 2	Simon Kepha	—	Simon Kepha	
3	om.	←	Simon	
4	Simon	—	Simon	
6	Simon	—	Simon	
xxi 2	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
3	<i>Simon</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
7 <sup>a</sup>	Simon	—	Kepha	
7 <sup>b</sup>	<i>Simon</i>	—	<i>Simon</i> <sup>1</sup>	
11	<i>Simon</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
15	<i>Simon</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	
17	Simon	—	Kepha	
20	Simon	—	Simon Kepha	
21	Simon	—	Kepha	

A glance at the above tables will shew the necessity for taking each Gospel separately and also for considering what the underlying Greek is.

<sup>1</sup> Ephr vi 158 has *Simon Kepha*.

Where the Greek has Σίμων Πέτρος, the Syriac has naturally *Simon Kepha*, the exceptions being Matt iv 18 and Joh i 40 (41), xxi 3, 7<sup>b</sup>, 11, 15, where *S* has *Simon* only<sup>1</sup>. Lk v 8 is not an exception, for there *S* is simply following the so-called 'Western' authorities in omitting Πέτρος. The omission of Joh xviii 25 is caused by the peculiar transpositions made by *S* in this chapter.

Where the Greek has Πέτρος without Σίμων we find a remarkable distinction between the Gospels. In the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* 'Kepha' is avoided in Matt and Joh, but almost exclusively employed in Mk and Lk. The only instances where *Kepha* alone is used in Matt or Joh are Matt xvi 18 and Joh i 42, passages where *Simon* would have been out of place, and also Joh xviii 11. On the other hand, only two instances occur in the other Gospels where Πέτρος is rendered 'Simon' in *S* or *C*. These are Mk xiv 31 and Lk xxiv 12 *S C*. In the former passage the true text has ὁ δὲ without Πέτρος, but *S* adds ܡܬܪܝܡ for clearness' sake, just as a number of Greek mss add 'Peter': the textual evidence does not suggest that ὁ δὲ Πέτρος stood before the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. In Lk xxiv 12 we are dealing with one of the so-called 'Western Non-Interpolations.' The verse is omitted by D and the Old Latin, and is certainly no part of the genuine Gospel according to S. Luke. It is therefore striking to find that the text of the verse in *S* and *C* contains an equivalent for 'Peter' that we do not meet with elsewhere in this Gospel. At the same time the hypothesis that *S* and *C* are here themselves interpolated, and that the verse forms no part of the original *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, raises serious difficulties. The translator may possibly have been influenced by the four-fold occurrence of 'Simon' in the parallel passage Joh xx 3—10.

The preference shewn by *S* and *C* in Matt, and to a less degree in Joh, for 'Simon Kepha' as a rendering of Πέτρος is a remarkable feature of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. I see no reason to suspect that our mss do not in this preserve the original rendering of the translator.

As for the Peshitta, the preference for 'Kepha' as a rendering of Πέτρος in Matt and Mk is what we should expect. The surprising thing is the preference for 'Simon' shewn in Lk and Joh. In S. John this use may be explained as a survival from the Old Syriac, but that explanation will not hold equally for S. Luke. It is impossible to believe that *S* and *C* have been independently conformed to the Greek in this one particular, while the direct Syriac ancestors of syr.vg have escaped: it is more probable that the double name *Simon Kepha* was once more frequent in the Syriac S. Luke (cf ix 20 *S C*, xxii 54 *C*), and that the reviser, considering that both ܡܬܪܝܡ and ܡܬܪܝܡܐ were each separately an equivalent for Πέτρος, took in this Gospel the former name instead of the latter.

In any case the evidence derived from the Syriac texts of S. Luke shews us how dangerous it is to use the Peshitta text of any book, such as the Acts, as a starting point for investigations about the original form of the Proper Names in the N.T. Yet this is what Dr Merx has done (*Erläuterung* i 164). Dr Merx comes to the conclusion that Πέτρος is generally a later correction and that the Evangelists commonly wrote Συμεών instead. A similar argument might be used to prove that the Evangelists wrote Μεσσίας where our Greek mss have Χριστός.

<sup>1</sup> Also Joh i 40 (41), xxi 7<sup>b</sup> syr.vg. But in the latter passage Ephraim has *Simon Kepha*.

(E) *Renderings of Ἰησοῦς and of κύριος*

The usual rendering of [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς in the Syriac Versions is ܝܫܘܥ, pronounced by Jacobites *Yeshû* and by Nestorians *Īshô*. This is doubtless the original name of which Ἰησοῦς is the Greek transcription: it frequently occurs in the O.T. with the vocalisation יֵשׁוּעַ *Yēshûa'*.

But one of the most curious features of *S* is that ܡܪܝܢ *Māran*, i.e. 'our Lord,' is occasionally used to render [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς. This occurs

Matt viii 3—xi 7 (inclusive).

Lk viii 40.

Joh i 36—vi 5 (inclusive), viii 34, xi 44, xii 16, xiii 23.

In *S*. Mark ܡܪܝܢ never occurs.

The only places where ܡܪܝܢ is similarly found in *C* is (1) Matt iv 18, where *S* and syr.vg omit with most authorities, but E L Δ al<sup>im</sup> *ackm* arm add ὁ Ἰησοῦς; and (2) Lk xxii 25, where syr.vg has 'Jesus' with Δ al<sup>p</sup>, but *S* omits with all other authorities.

In the quotations of Aphraates, the only other 'Old Syriac' source of any considerable bulk, 'our Lord' is used instead of 'Jesus' in Matt xviii 22, xxii 29; Lk ix 60, xix 9. On the other hand 'Jesus' occurs in Aphraates' quotations of Mk x 21, 23 (= Matt xix 23); Mk xvi 19; Lk iii 23; Joh xiii 8, 10.

Before estimating the reason of these variations it will be well to tabulate the Syriac renderings of ὁ κύριος, when used as it occasionally is in *S*. Luke and *S*. John in place of the personal name 'Jesus.' The vocative Κύριε is naturally rendered by ܝܝܢ *my Lord*, or sometimes (when the speaker is one of the disciples) by ܡܪܝܢ *our Lord*. In tabulating the occurrences of ὁ κύριος in this sense it is necessary to give the Greek and Latin various readings somewhat fully: it will usually be found that important authorities read 'Jesus' or omit the name altogether.

S. LUKE	<i>S</i>	<i>C</i>	Syr.vg	Greek and Latin evidence for ὁ Ἰησοῦς, or for omission
v 17 <sup>b</sup>	Jesus	—	(the LORD)	[see below]
vii 13	Jesus	—	Jesus	ic̄ D 1 &c. lat. q -vg <sup>codd</sup>
x 1	om.	om.	Jesus	īHS <i>bfr</i> om. D a c e
39	Jesus	our Lord	our Lord	īY 5̄ A rell <i>b</i> vg <sup>cod</sup> κY NB*C*DLΞ al lat.vt -vg
41	Jesus	om.	Jesus	ic̄ 5̄ D A rell <i>b c e f q r</i> vg <sup>cod</sup> κC NB* L 157 <i>a i l</i> vg
xi 39	Jesus	our Lord	Jesus	ic̄ U c <sup>scr</sup> al <sup>5</sup> lat.vg <sup>cod</sup>
xii 42	Jesus	our Lord	Jesus	īHS <i>b</i> vg <sup>cod</sup> om. <i>e i</i>
xiii 15	Jesus	Jesus	Jesus	ic̄ D <sup>sr</sup> F U Γ 1 &c. 28 13 &c. al <sup>15</sup> lat.vg <sup>codd</sup>
xvii 5	Jesus	our Lord	our Lord	DNĒ (for DÑŌ) <i>b c e f f q r</i> vg <sup>codd</sup> om. <i>l</i>
6	om.	om.	om.	īHS <i>l r</i> vg <sup>cod</sup> om. <i>a b c e f f i q</i>

S. LUKE	<i>S</i>	<i>C</i>	Syr.vg	Greek and Latin evidence for ὁ Ἰησοῦς, or for omission
xviii 6	Jesus	our Lord	our Lord	
xix 8	Jesus	our Lord	Jesus	1̄N G K M II 13 &c. al <sup>180</sup> e vg <sup>codd</sup>
xxii 25	<i>om.</i>	our Lord	Jesus	1̄N A al <sup>p</sup> <i>om. rell</i>
31	( <i>om. clause</i> )	our Lord	Jesus	1̄HS lat.vg <sup>codd</sup> <i>om. clause</i> B L T
61 <sup>a</sup>	Jesus	our Lord	Jesus	1̄C D 1 &c. 124* al <sup>10</sup> lat.vg <sup>cod</sup>
61 <sup>b</sup>	Jesus	our Lord	our Lord	
xxiv 3	(Jesus)	(Jesus)	(Jesus)	[ <i>see below</i> ]
34	our Lord	our Lord	our Lord	( <i>'The Lord is risen indeed'</i> )
S. JOHN				
iv 1	( <i>'our Lord'</i> )	Jesus	Jesus	1̄C ̄N D A 1 &c. 22 565 al <sup>20</sup> latt κC 5 A B rell <i>f q</i>
vi 23	<i>illegible</i>	( <i>om. clause</i> )	Jesus	<i>om. clause</i> D 69* a e
xi 2	<i>illegible</i>	—	Jesus	
xx 2	our Lord	—	our Lord	( <i>said to Peter and John</i> )
13	my Lord	—	my Lord	( <i>said to the angels</i> )
18	our Lord	—	our Lord	( <i>said to disciples</i> )
20	<i>om.</i>	—	our Lord	
25	our Lord	—	our Lord	( <i>said to Thomas</i> )
xxi 7 <sup>a</sup>	our Lord	—	our Lord	( <i>said to Peter</i> )
7 <sup>b</sup>	our Lord	—	our Lord	( <i>repetition</i> )
12	<i>om.</i>	—	our Lord	

In the above list I have not included Lk vii 31, for almost all Greek and Latin authorities omit the clause *εἶπε δὲ ὁ κύριος*. In Lk v 17 *δύναμις κυρίου ἦν* is taken by *S* to mean 'the power was in *Jesus*,' so that the verse has to be added to the list of passages where the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* understood κύριος to be used in narrative in the sense of 'our Lord.' But no other authority has 'Jesus' here. Lk xxiv 3 also might perhaps have been placed by itself. Most authorities read 'the body of the Lord Jesus': *Dabefflr* omit 'of the Lord Jesus,' while a Greek minuscule, *f*, and the Sahidic, omit 'the Lord.' It is evident that the Syriac versions do not attest the longer reading, but a glance at this Table will, I think, be enough to shew that we cannot determine whether they attest τοῦ κυρίου without Ἰησοῦ, or τοῦ Ἰησοῦ without κυρίου. In Joh iv 1 the reading of *S* is marked illegible, but as the passage comes within one of the sections in which 'our Lord' is regularly used for Ἰησοῦς, there can be no doubt that *S* has *is* here.

It must further be noticed that Ephraim (*Moes.* 98) supports *S* against *C* and the Peshitta by having 'Jesus' in Lk x 39.



The main question in dispute is whether *S* or *C* most accurately represents the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in the matter of these Proper Names. *S* is consistent with itself. The only occurrences of 'our Lord' where the Greek has κύριος are in reported sayings of the disciples, all as a matter of fact after the Resurrection, and such that 'Jesus' would be inappropriate in them. Even if a revising pen was running through the text changing ܐܕܝܢ into ܐܕܝܡ, these passages would remain untouched. In other places it seems to me likely that *S* has ܐܕܝܡ in the text, because the MS from which the original *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was made had Ἰησοῦς and not κύριος, e.g. in Lk vii 13 and xiii 15. But it is a little difficult to suppose that ὁ κύριος in narrative was never rendered 'our Lord' by the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, seeing that it is so rendered in such passages as Lk xxiv 34.

On the other hand *C* does not give a consistent text. We cannot simply take it as faithfully representing in this particular the original form of the version, for we must account for the renderings in Lk ix 39 and xii 42, where *S* and syr.vg practically alone agree in having 'Jesus.' Such passages shew that this use of the personal name is a real feature of the version, not a peculiarity of *S*. Moreover we must remember that in other parts of the Gospels *S* has 'our Lord' where all other texts have 'Jesus.'

Further discussion would be probably fruitless and would certainly be wearisome. My provisional conclusions are:—

(1) The original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had ܐܕܝܡ for ὁ Ἰησοῦς and ܐܕܝܢ for ὁ κύριος, but the latter term less frequently occurred in the Greek MS used by the translator than in the majority of our MSS.

(2) At a later period ܐܕܝܢ was generally substituted for ܐܕܝܡ in one of the immediate ancestors of *S*, without regard for the Greek.

(3) At a still later date ܐܕܝܡ was restored, but certain sections in S. Matthew and S. John were passed over, together with a few places here and there (Lk viii 40, Joh xi 44, xii 16), where ܐܕܝܢ was left by accident. The correction was *not* made by the help of a Greek codex, consequently in the narrative passages such as Lk xvii 5, xviii 6, xxii 61<sup>b</sup>, where 'our Lord' should have been left, it was nevertheless changed into 'Jesus.' In all this *S* shews no sign of revision from the Greek.

(4) The Peshitta, as is clear from other considerations, is a revision of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* by the help of a later Greek MS: it was no doubt by the help of the Greek that 'in Jesus' (*or*, 'in our Lord') was changed in Lk v 17 into 'of the LORD.' But where ὁ κύριος simply meant 'Christ' the reviser of the Peshitta does not seem to have thought it worth while to change the transmitted Syriac text: in this respect it is not unlikely that the Peshitta gives a better representation of the genuine text of the 'Old Syriac' than either *S* or *C*.

(5) The occurrence of 'Jesus' in the Peshitta in such passages as Lk xi 39, xii 43, convicts *C* of partial revision from the Greek. In these passages if the reading of *C* truly represented the original form of the 'Old Syriac,' it would be difficult to understand how the Syriac Vulgate came to have ܐܕܝܡ and not ܐܕܝܢ.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE PESHITTA NEW TESTAMENT AND ITS RIVALS.

THE great antiquity of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament that goes by the name of the Peshitta is acknowledged on all hands. It is a version made direct from the Hebrew, not from the Greek, and the quotations and allusions in our earliest Syriac authorities practically agree with the text as we have it. It has even been conjectured that the version was the work of Jewish scholars in the 2nd century AD, and in any case its renderings often shew the influence of Jewish tradition and exegesis. In the course of a long history it has doubtless suffered a little from the usual incidents of transmission, but—to name a single instance—the whole of the 9th chapter of Daniel is quoted by Aphraates (*Wright* 368 ff), and the text as there quoted does not seriously differ from that printed by Lee, though Lee's edition is notoriously based upon late and bad mss.

But the case of the New Testament Peshitta is very different. In the Old Testament the Syriac vulgate had no rivals till the sixth century; in the New Testament we have to reckon with the Diatessaron and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. It is, I am convinced, a fruitless endeavour to attempt to reconstruct the history of the Gospel in Syriac from internal evidence alone, and the direct traditions as to the recensions and revisions made in these early times are too vague and scanty to start from. I propose therefore in the following pages to examine whether any evidence for the existence of the Peshitta N.T. before the episcopate of Rabbula (AD 411–435) can be gleaned from the contemporary Syriac literature.

The order of the writings examined is that in which they are mentioned in Wright's *Syriac Literature*, pp. 25–49.

THE ACTS OF JUDAS THOMAS (*Wright 26*).

The numerous N.T. 'Apocrypha' briefly catalogued by Wright are almost all translations of uncertain age from the Greek and need not detain us here. But the *Acts of Thomas*, which occurs among them, is a very different work and needs our careful attention. It is a work written originally in Syriac, as I hope is now generally recognised<sup>1</sup>. The arguments which shew that the Greek *Acta* are a translation from the Syriac are partly linguistic, such as misrenderings and misreadings of Syriac words in the existing Greek texts, and partly general considerations derived from the Oriental cast of the proper names and from the metrical structure of certain Hymns which occur in the work. In other words, the theory that the *Acts of Thomas* were originally composed in Syriac is independent of the character of the incidental quotations from the Gospel.

But if the *Acts of Thomas* be a Syriac work, it can be shewn that the incidental quotations are taken from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, in contradistinction both to the Diatessaron and to the Peshitta.

*The Quotations in the Acts of Thomas not taken from the Diatessaron.*

Although we are often in doubt as to the Syriac text of Tatian's Harmony, the surviving authorities are sufficient for us to ascertain the arrangement of the Parables<sup>2</sup>. We thus learn that the Parables of the Pounds (Lk xix 12-27) and of the Talents (Matt xxv 14-30) were given separately in different parts of the Diatessaron, but the Parables of the Marriage-Feast (Matt xxii 1-14) and of the Supper (Lk xiv 16-24) were fused together into one. In consequence of this the writers who habitually used the Diatessaron could not keep these last two Parables distinct. For example, the references of Aphraates to the Parables of the Pounds and of the Talents are separated by an allusion to the Labourers in the Vineyard<sup>3</sup>. But when he has occasion to speak of the Wedding-garment, a detail peculiar to Matt xxii, he mixes it up with expressions taken from Lk xiv. He says

<sup>1</sup> See the present writer's Notes in the *Journal of Theological Studies* i 280-290, ii 429, iii 94.

<sup>2</sup> See the list in *Hamlyn Hill*, Ap. v, p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> Wright's *Aphraates*, pp. 171, 172.





*fasten my hands and my feet, and to the outer darkness may I not go forth* [Matt xxii 11, 8, 12, 13]. *My Lamp, gay with His light, hath its Lord preserved; until He withdraweth from the Wedding-feast and I receive Him* [Lk xii 35, 36], *may I not see it smouldering from its oil* [cf Matt xii 20]...<sup>1</sup>.

This one passage contains in itself all the elements of the problem. It is manifestly the composition of an Aramaic-speaking Christian, for it is only in the Syriac that the smoking 'flax' becomes a 'lamp<sup>2</sup>.' It is the work of one who knew the Gospels well independently of the Diatessaron, for the Supper and the Wedding are kept distinct. In strict accordance with the Gospels, but against the Diatessaron, the excuses of the invited guests about the field and the wife are connected with the Supper, as well as the vow of the offended host<sup>3</sup>; on the other hand, the episode of the garment and the ejected guest is kept in connexion with the Wedding. Moreover the order in which the Parables are referred to is not that of the Diatessaron: one suggests the other through some verbal likeness, the ten Pounds of Lk xix suggesting the one Pound of Matt xviii<sup>4</sup>. Finally we have in ܐܠܐ 'to withdraw' a rendering of ἀναλύσῃ (Lk xii 36), which is characteristic of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as opposed to the Syriac Vulgate.

But this is anticipating. What we are concerned with now is that the passage here quoted from the Acts of Thomas could not have been derived from the Diatessaron.

A curious confirmation of the above argument is to be found in an allusion to our Lord's Temptation in *Thos* 256, where we read that "Temperance is the rest of God, for our Lord fasted forty days and forty nights and tasted nothing." This is a free combination of Matt iv 2 and Lk iv 2: the same combination occurs in the Arabic *Diatessaron* iv 44, and at first sight we might be tempted to take the passage in *Thos* 256 as a quotation of Tatian's Harmony. What renders this view

<sup>1</sup> Wright's *Apocryphal Acts*, pp. 17—18 (Engl. Tr., pp. 280, 281). I have given here my own translation, as minute literal accuracy is important for the present purpose. In the clause referring to Lk xii 35, 36, I take ܡܝܬܐ as perf. *Pael* not as imperf. *Pael*, so that no copula is required before ܐܠܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ.

<sup>2</sup> This rendering of Matt xii 20, found in syr.vg as well as *S* and *C*, may have been suggested by the Peshitta of Isaiah xlii 3.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Amen I say to you' of Lk xix 24 is regarded as the equivalent of an oath.

<sup>4</sup> The equation of 100 Denars to one Pound is not far wrong. Wright's rendering is 'talent,' but the Syriac has ܠܕܢܐ (=μνᾶ), not ܠܕܐܠܐܢܐ (=τάλαντον).

unlikely is that the 'forty nights' of Matt iv 2 seem to have been absent from the Diatessaron. They are passed over by Ephraim (*Moes.* 44), and are actually omitted from the text of S. Matthew in *C*. Any allusion to the forty nights therefore is almost certainly inconsistent with the use of the Diatessaron. The presence of the clause ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܕܢܐ in these *Acts* may fairly be used to convict the Sinai Palimpsest itself of corruption from the Diatessaron in Lk iv 2. For in the place of καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ. *S* has 'And he was there forty days, and after forty days that he was fasting, he hungered': this agrees with the Diatessaron as given in *Moesinger* 44, except that S. Ephraim does not quote the first clause<sup>1</sup>.

Then again the list of the Apostles at the beginning of the Acts of Thomas tallies exactly with that of *S* in Matt x 2-4, but with no other authority<sup>2</sup>. The nearest after *S* is the Syriac fragment quoted by Dr Goussen from the Berlin ms of Isho'dad (ap. *Harris* 101), which expressly professes to give the list according to the Diatessaron. This interesting text has the same order as *S* and *Thos*, but it adds the name 'Lebbaia' to James son of Halphaeus<sup>3</sup>. The Arabic *Diatessaron* and Cod. Fuldensis give us the order of S. Luke.

*The Quotations in the Acts of Thomas not taken from the Peshitta.*

The reader will have already noticed that some of the phrases quoted above shew a marked agreement with *S* and *C* against syr.vg. The use of ܦܠܐ 'to withdraw (from an entertainment),' where the Peshitta of Lk xii 36 has ܦܬܐ 'to return,' is a striking instance. Equally characteristic of *S C* is the mention of 'stubborn infirmities' in *Thos* 230 (ܠܦܬܐ ܠܡܕܢܐ), for the Peshitta of Matt iv 24 renders ποικίλαις νόσοις by 'divers infirmities' (ܠܦܬܐ ܠܡܕܢܐ).

But the agreement of the Acts of Thomas with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is not confined to these relatively small points. In *Thos* 313 (Engl. Tr., p. 279) the Lord's Prayer is quoted in full, in agreement with *C* (and *S* where extant), but with marked differences from syr.vg. I give the three texts side by side (Matt vi 9-13):

<sup>1</sup> Note that the text of *Thos* 256 is not taken from syr.vg, which has ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܕܢܐ in Lk iv 2.

<sup>2</sup> *C* is not extant at this point.

<sup>3</sup> The ms has ܠܥܒܐ ܕܝܠܦܐܝܐ. It is doubtful whether the word is meant for Λεββαῖος (ܠܒܐ), or Λευεῖς (ܠܡܐ), or Λευῆς.

C (S)

אבם הבחנה  
נבם עבד.  
הכחם חלבוהי.  
נמם יצני.  
כאזכא אפי הבחנה.  
סלעם אכחנה הנכח מד ל.  
סבבם ל נבם.  
אבנה האפ אפם נבם לטב.  
סלם אהבם לטב.  
אלם פי תם בעה.  
תלל הדלי מ.  
חלבוהם סלם סלם סלם.  
לחל חלח אבם.

Thos 313

אבם הבחנה  
נבם עבד.  
הכחם חלבוהי.  
נמם יצני.  
כאזכא אפי הבחנה.  
סמד ל לסלם אכחנה הנכח.  
סבבם ל נבם סלם.  
האפ סל נבם לטב.  
סלם אהבם לטב.  
אלם פי תם בעה.

Peshitta

אבם הבחנה  
נבם עבד.  
הכחם חלבוהי.  
נמם יצני.  
אבנה הבחנה אפ כאזכא.  
סד ל לסלם הנכח סלם.  
סבבם ל נבם.  
אבנה האפ סל נבם לטב.  
סלם אהבם לטב.  
אלם פי תם בעה.  
תלל הדלי מ.  
חלבוהם סלם סלם סלם סלם.  
לחל חלח

כחם ס: the rest of the Prayer  
in Matt is not extant in S through  
the loss of a page

Variants of c (Cambridge Univ. Libr. Add. 2822)  
and of s (the Sinai fragments)

כחם ס s כחם י כחם c כחם c  
ס c s חלבוהם c חלבוהם om. s  
אפ pr. אבם c אבם c  
אבם [חלח] c; s illegible

The text of the Sinai Fragments is printed in *Studia Sinaitica* ix, pp. 30, 31.

The Cambridge MS is a copy of the abridged text of the *Acts of Thomas* preserved in the Sachau MS at Berlin and partly collated by Bedjan. Its peculiarities here are all verbal assimilations to the Peshitta, such as one might expect in a late transcript. On the other hand the Sinai fragments here attest all the remarkable readings of Wright's text.

The extracts hardly need a commentary: in every point the *Acts* and *C* agree together against the Peshitta and the Greek. They read 'Thy wishes be done,' in the plural. They have 'In earth as it is in heaven,' while the Peshitta has in the Greek order 'As in heaven so in earth<sup>1</sup>.' For τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον they have 'continual bread,' while the Peshitta has 'the bread of our necessity.' They read 'so that we may forgive'; the Peshitta has 'as we have forgiven.' Finally they read 'bring us not,' where the Peshitta rendering is 'make us not enter<sup>2</sup>.'

It is surely unnecessary to pursue this part of the investigation further. So far from finding any evidence that the Peshitta was known to the author of the *Acts of Thomas* we have found his quotations in marked agreement with its rivals, while at the same time there is decisive evidence that the quotations are not derived from the Diatessaron. We shall not find elsewhere such clear traces of the use of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, so that the point is of great historical importance. Meanwhile it must be remembered that we have hitherto brought forward no evidence as to whether the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was originally translated in the circles that produced the *Acts of Thomas*, or whether it merely found a home there when other branches of Syriac-speaking Christianity were using Tatian's Harmony<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A curiously exact parallel to the variation between the Authorised and Revised Versions at this point!

<sup>2</sup> The reading ܡܬܠܡ ܡܬܠܡ *our debts and our sins* is not that of the Diatessaron: at least Aphraates twice quotes the verse with ܡܬܠܡ alone. The combination of Matt and Lk reappears in Jacob of Serug's Homily on the Lord's Prayer, and curiously enough it finds a place in Teseo Ambrogio's miscellany (G. H. Gwilliam in *Studia Biblica* ii, p. 268).

<sup>3</sup> Before leaving the Apocryphal Acts, I should like to record my opinion that the work called the *Acts of Philip*, printed by Wright, is also a Syriac original, and that the author of them used the Diatessaron. Wright's MS is late (1569 AD), and the quotations present the same sort of assimilation to syr.vg that we have noticed in the Cambridge transcript of the *Acts of Thomas*. But in ܡܬܠܡ ܡܬܠܡ (p. 3) we have an echo of the cry of woe added to Lk xxiii 48 in all 'Old Syriac' authorities, and again on p. 5 we find the phrase ܡܬܠܡ ܡܬܠܡ, *cheek for cheek*, introducing Matt v 39 just as in S. Ephraim's Commentary (*Moes.* 65, 133). This phrase is ultimately derived from the Syriac of Exod xxi 25, but it seems to have stood in some texts of the Diatessaron. There is a 13th cent. MS of the *Acts of Philip* at Paris (Zotenberg 235).



THE SYRIAC DOCTRINA APOSTOLORUM (*Wright* 27).

This document is the only work of its kind which has a Syriac origin. It has been published by Cureton in *Ancient Syriac Documents* ൩—൨ (Engl. Tr., pp. 24–35) from a MS of the 5th or 6th cent. It had previously been printed as the ‘Doctrine of Addai’ in Lagarde’s *Reliquiae Juris Eccl. Antiq.*, pp. 32–44, from an inferior MS of the 9th cent.

The quotations from the Gospel are as follows :

1. A.S.D. ~~ma~~ = Matt xxiv 27.

[illegible]

*Variants of S and syr.vg*

*init.*] חַם יְהוָה חַם יְהוָה *S*; חַם יְהוָה חַם *syrr.vg*

ⲕⲓⲛ Reliq (sic)

Thus the *Doctrina Apost.* agrees with *S* in reading **ⲓⲛ** (*cf* ἀστρά-  
πτουσα Lk xvii 24), while syr.vg has **ⲛⲉⲓ** (= ἐξέρχεται Matt xxiv 27).  
But it is in still closer accord with Ephraim's Commentary (*Moes.* 211),  
which has *As the lightning that lighteneth...*

2. A.S.D. ~~Δ~~ = Lk xvi 15<sup>b</sup>.

Quoted in agreement with *S* and syr.vg.

3. A.S.D. 𐤀𐤍 = Matt xxviii 20.

[illegible]

*Variants of A 120, 484 and syr.vg*

[ḥḥḥ] pr. ḥḥ ḥḥ syr.vg      ḥḥḥ] pr. ḥḥḥ ḥḥḥ syr.vg

כחך ה'עלך so also A 120: כחך העלך syr.vg A 484 (and Reliq)

*S* is not extant, but of the two quotations from Aphraates one agrees word for word with the *Doctrina Apost.*, while the other (though agreeing in the two characteristic omissions) follows syr.vg and the Greek in the final clause<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It may be conjectured that A 120 gives the text of the Diatessaron, A 484 that of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.



APHRAATES (*Wright* 31-33).

The surviving works of the school of Bardesanes supply nothing for our present purpose, unless indeed we include among them the *Acts of Thomas*<sup>1</sup>. We therefore come to the *Homilies* of Aphraates, composed in the years 337, 344, and 345 AD. The numerous quotations from the Gospel in these Homilies are given in their place in vol. i, so that it is unnecessary for me to go through them here in full. I need only point out that the striking coincidences between the language of Aphraates in quoting the Gospel with the text of *S* and of *C* are not balanced by agreements of like weight between Aphraates and syr.vg.

The following remarkable agreements of Aphraates' quotations with *S* or *C* against the Peshitta may be here brought forward:—

Matt ii 20 seeking the lad's life: *A* 405 and *C* (not *S*) add to *snatch away*.

v 18 ἰῶτα ἐν ἡ μία κεφαία; *A* 30 and *S* (*C*) have *one Jod-letter*, *C* further adding by conflation or *one horn*.

vi 19 where moth and rust doth corrupt: *A* 389 and *C* have *where the moth falleth and corrupteth*.

Lk vi 24 your consolation: *A* 390 and *S* (*sic*) have *your supplication*, an alternative rendering of τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.

xii 19 and I will say to my soul: *A* 381 and *C* (not *S*) have *and he saith to his soul*.

xix 44 the day of thy visitation: *A* 412 and *C* (not *S*) have *the day of thy greatness*.

xxii 43 in Paradise: *A* 266, 437, and *C* (not *S*) have *in the Garden of Eden*.

48: *A* 271 has the words *Woe to us! What hath befallen us!* which are added at the end of this verse in *S* and *C*.

Joh i 14: *A* 120, 167, and *C* have *The Word* (fem.) *became a body and it sojourned among us*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf the Mechitarists' Latin translation of S. Ephraim's *Commentary* on the Pauline Epp., p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Or, 'in us.' The Peshitta has the same verb and preposition, but the Word is treated as masc. and σὰρξ is rendered 'flesh' instead of 'body.' *S* is not extant.

There are very few coincidences in Aphraates with syr.vg against *SC* united. An instance is to be found in Matt v 16, where *A* 14 has 'your good (ܐܬܝܒܐ) works' with syr.vg, while *SC* have 'your fair (ܐܬܝܒܐ) works.' But this distribution of the evidence is almost isolated. On the other hand the combination of Aphraates with *S* and syr.vg against *C*, or Aphraates with *C* and syr.vg against *S*, is often found. But this does no more to prove the use of the Peshitta by Aphraates than the occasional agreement of 'African' authorities with the Latin Vulgate proves that S. Cyprian was acquainted with S. Jerome's revision<sup>1</sup>. Such a grouping as *SA* syr.vg against *C* (as in Matt v 15) means that the Peshitta text has here followed that branch of the 'Old Syriac' now represented by *S*, and not that branch now represented by *C*.

A more interesting class of variants is well illustrated by the Syriac texts of Matt v 44.

*Aphraates* 34, 35

ܐܬܝܒܐ ܠܚܬܠܐ ܕܚܒܝܐ.

ܡܕܚܒܐ ܠܢܗ ܕܠܟܐ ܠܚܐ.

ܡܝܠܐ ܬܠ ܕܠܡ ܕܚܬܠܐ ܕܚܒܐ.

ܡܕܚܒܐ ܠܚܐ.

*A*<sup>a</sup> ܕܚܬܠܐ ܕܚܒܐ ܠܚܐ; *A*<sup>b</sup> ܕܚܬܠܐ ܕܚܒܐ

Love your enemies, and bless  
him that curseth you, and pray  
for them which use violence to  
you and persecute you

use violence to you] *A*<sup>b</sup>; accuse you *A*<sup>a</sup>

*Peshitta (and SC)*

ܐܬܝܒܐ ܠܚܬܠܐ ܕܚܒܐ.

ܡܕܚܒܐ ܠܢܗ ܕܠܟܐ ܠܚܐ.

ܡܕܚܒܐ ܕܚܬܠܐ ܕܚܒܐ ܠܚܐ.

ܡܝܠܐ ܬܠ ܕܠܡ ܕܚܬܠܐ ܕܚܒܐ.

ܡܕܚܒܐ ܠܚܐ.

*S* has ܐܬܝܒܐ for ܐܬܝܒܐ

*SC* omit the words overlined

Love your enemies, and bless him that curseth  
you, and do well to him that hateth you, and  
pray for them which treat you with compul-  
sion and persecute you

*SC* omit the words in italics.

The omissions correspond to a well-known variant in the Greek. The shorter text found in *SC* is that of *SBk*, while syr.vg (and Aphraates) attest the reading of most mss. The words in question are read by all authorities in the parallel passage Lk vi 27. For our present purpose it is important to notice that the text of Aphraates cannot have been taken from thence, because the Syriac corresponding

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in the Latin texts of Matt v 45 we find *oriri facit* in *k* Cyp<sup>3/3</sup> vg, but *oriri iubet* in *ab cgm*.



to τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς is in the Peshitta ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ (as in Matt), while in *S* we find ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ i.e. 'that oppress you.' The text of Aphraates therefore is not derived from the Peshitta nor from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*: if we exclude the improbable supposition that it was derived by direct revision from the Greek, we must assume that it faithfully represents the original text of the Diatessaron.

In this passage then the three Syriac texts are for once clearly distinguished by their independent renderings of ἐπηρεάζειν<sup>1</sup>. Difference of rendering implies the use of different Greek exemplars: here at least neither of the three Syriac texts can have been derived directly from the other. It is of course hazardous to maintain with any confidence that the ancient Diatessaron of Tatian really attests the longer form of Matt v 44, for in a Harmony constructed out of all the Gospels the apparent deficiency of Matt would naturally be supplied from Lk. What is of greater importance for the immediate question, viz. the use of the Peshitta in early Syriac writings, is that mere agreement with Greek readings attested by syr.vg against *S C* is not always a decisive proof of the use of syr.vg. In the present instance Aphraates and the Peshitta have words corresponding to τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς while *S C* have none, but the grave differences of rendering between the two texts shew that Aphraates is not dependent upon the Peshitta.

Similarly in Matt x 5 εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν is rendered 'In the way of the peoples (ܠܗܘܢ)' by *S*, but we find 'In the way of the pagans (ܠܗܘܢ)' in syr.vg and *A* 42. Yet nothing about the quotations of Aphraates is more certain than that the long string of allusions on pp. 41, 42 are taken from the Diatessaron, not from the Gospels<sup>2</sup>: here again, therefore, the agreement with syr.vg does not imply the dependence of Aphraates. These results should be borne in mind when we are considering some of the quotations in S. Ephraim, notably the combination of Lk xii 54 and Matt xvi 2, 3.

<sup>1</sup> The reading of *A*<sup>a</sup> (ܠܗܘܢ) looks like a corruption of ܠܗܘܢ under the influence of the ܠܗܘܢ of syr.vg.

<sup>2</sup> See next chapter, p. 181.

S. EPHRAIM (*Wright* 33–37).

The surviving works of S. Ephraim, commonly called Ephrem Syrus, are considerably more voluminous than all the rest of pre-Rabbulan Syriac literature, and till lately they have been the rallying ground of those who claimed a very high antiquity for the Peshitta N.T. The importance of his quotations for the history of the Syriac Bible led me to make a special study of the MS sources of the works which have been printed as his. This has been published in the Cambridge 'Texts and Studies' under the title of *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel* (Cambridge, 1901), and the favourable way in which the little book has been received, both in this country and in Germany, saves me from the necessity of clearing the ground again. I shall therefore confine myself here to the quotations from the genuine works of S. Ephraim, as given in my book, together with those from Dr Lamy's fourth volume since published. I cite my book by its pages as '*Quotations*.'

*The Genuine Writings of S. Ephraim ('Quotations' 23 ff.).*

The following list of genuine works by S. Ephraim has been drawn up on the principle of admitting only those which are extant in MSS earlier than the Mohammedan invasions. A mechanical rule such as this no doubt excludes some genuine writings, but the list at least escapes the charge of having been constructed to suit a pre-determined critical theory.

The Commentary on the *Diatessaron*—an undoubtedly genuine work—has not been included, because it is only extant in an Armenian translation. Besides, we may regard this Commentary as being, so to speak, on its trial. We know that S. Ephraim wrote a Commentary on the *Diatessaron*, while on the other hand there is absolutely no evidence which even suggests that he wrote upon any of the separate Four Gospels. It is therefore the *Diatessaron*, and not the Four Gospels, which we should naturally expect to find quoted in his genuine works. Yet it has been actually asserted (*Studia Biblica* iii, p. 115) that very few of S. Ephraim's quotations accord with the *Diatessaron* where

they differ from the Peshitta! No more striking instance could be given of the result of trusting to uncritical editions in matters of textual criticism.

*List of the Genuine Writings of S. Ephraim.*

PROSE WRITINGS :

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (1) The Commentary on Genesis and Exodus <sup>1</sup>   | <i>Ed. Rom.</i> iv 1—115, 194—235              |
| (2) The Homily on our Lord  | <i>Lamy</i> i 145—274, ii pp. xxi—xxiii        |
| (3) The fragments of the Homily on Joh i 1  | <i>Lamy</i> ii 511—516                         |
| (4) The fragments of the Treatises addressed to Hypatius against False Doctrines <sup>2</sup> | <i>Overbeck</i> 21—73                          |
| (5) On the Fear of God, or <i>De Misericordia Divina</i>                                      | „ 105—112                                      |
| (6) Letter to the Monks in the Mountains  | „ 113—131                                      |
| [7] Letter to Publius   | B.M. Add. 7190 (' <i>Quotations</i> ,' p. 70)] |

METRICAL WORKS (including both “Hymns” and “Homilies”) :

- |  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| (1) ‘ <i>Sermones Exegetici</i> ’ on Adam, etc.      | <i>Ed. Rom.</i> v 318 c—330 |
| (2) „ on Jonah                                       | „ v 359 d—387 A             |
| (3) <i>De Nativitate</i> XIII (see below, no. 20)    | „ v 396—436                 |
| (4) <i>Sermones Polemici</i> LVI                     | „ v 437 <i>ad fin.</i>      |
| (5) <i>De Fide adv. Scrutatores</i> LXXXVII          | „ vi 1—164                  |
| (6) <i>De Libero Voluntatis Arbitrio</i> IV          | „ vi 359 A—366              |
| (7) ‘ <i>Paraenetica</i> ,’ no. I                    | „ vi 367—369 B              |
| (8) „ no. XX   | „ vi 450 d—451 F            |
| (9) „ nos. LXXV, LXXVI                               | „ vi 555 F—561              |
| (10) <i>De Paradiso Eden</i> (see below, no. 15)     | „ vi 562—598                |
| (11) ‘ <i>De Diversis Sermones</i> ,’ no. II         | „ vi 603—604 E              |
| (12) „ no. IV—XII                                    | „ vi 608 c—629 B            |
| (13) „ no. XVIII                                     | „ vi 654 F <i>ad fin.</i>   |
| (14) On Julian the Apostate                          | <i>Overbeck</i> 3—20        |
| (15) <i>De Paradiso Eden</i> (supplement to no. 10)  | „ 339—354                   |
| (16) The <i>Carmina Nisibena</i> (see below, no. 19) | <i>Bickell's Edition</i>    |
| (17) <i>Hymni Azmorum</i>                            | <i>Lamy</i> i 567—636       |
| (18) „ <i>De Crucifixione</i>                        | „ i 637—714                 |

<sup>1</sup> The text in the Roman Edition must of course be corrected by Pohlmann's collations (*Journ. of Theol. Studies* i 570).

<sup>2</sup> The *Commentarii* (ܟܡܢܝܐ), edited as Ephraim's by Overbeck, pp. 74—104, are intentionally omitted from this List.

(19) <i>Sermo de Reprehensione</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>Lamy</i> ii 332—362
(20) <i>Hymni de Nativitate</i> (supplement to no. 3)	„ ii 501—510
(21) Hymns on Fasting, Virginity, etc.	„ ii 647—678, 685—694, 718—814
(22) <i>Sermones Rogationum</i> , nos. III, v—x	„ iii 37—44, 65—114
(23) Hymns on the Confessors	„ iii 643—696
(24) „ on Abraham Kidunaya and on Julian Saba	„ iii 741—936
(25) Hymns <i>de Ecclesia et Virginitate</i>	„ iv 497—670
[(26) Hymns on the Epiphany	„ i 5—144 (' <i>Quotations</i> ,' p. 67)]
[(27) Hymns <i>de Virginitate</i> , etc.	„ ii 773—824 (' <i>Quotations</i> ,' p. 69)]
[(28) <i>Sermones Rogationum</i>	„ iii 3—126, iv 367—454 (' <i>Quotations</i> ,' p. 69)]
[(29) The Testament of Ephraim	<i>Overbeck, Duval</i> ]

This may not be a complete list of the genuine extant works of S. Ephraim, but there can be little doubt that all those which are included are genuine. Each of them [except Nos. 7, 26–29,] is attested by at least one MS not later than the 7th century, and several are found in two MSS of the 5th or 6th century. Together they make up a very considerable mass of writing, certainly enough to settle the question whether S. Ephraim used the Peshitta text of the Gospels. It is, to say the least, exceedingly improbable that works which are assigned in later MSS to S. Ephraim should, if genuine, present a different type of text in the Biblical quotations and allusions from that found in these 350 separate poems, not to speak of the many pages of prose.

*Examination of S. Ephraim's Quotations* ('*Quotations*' 28–57, 67–72).

[Matt iii 16 = *Lamy* i 127 ('*Quotations*' 67 ff.)

ܒܪܟܬܐ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܪܬܐ ܫܠܡܐ. ܡܬܬܒܪܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܪܬܐ ܫܠܡܐ. ܡܬܬܒܪܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܪܬܐ ܫܠܡܐ.

*The Holy one was baptized and immediately came up, and His light flamed upon the world.*

<sup>1</sup> This discourse (ܒܪܟܬܐ ܡܢܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܪܬܐ) appears to me to be one of the missing numbers of the *Carmina Nisibena* (either xxii, xxiii, or xxiv). It deals with the abandonment of Nisibis to the Persians by Jovian in 363 AD. A verbose Greek paraphrase of this discourse is printed in *Ed. Rom.* i 40–70. The second *Sermo de Reprehensione* (*Lamy* ii 363–392) is not, as stated on col. 312, taken from a MS of the 5th or 6th century. It is written on the fly-leaves of B.M. Add. 12176 in a hand of about the 9th century. It contains no quotations from the N.T.



Neither the Peshitta nor the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* have any allusion to the Light at our Lord's Baptism, but it clearly had a place in the Diatessaron. Not only does Ephraim himself speak of 'the shining of the light which was on the waters' (*Moes.* 43), but the Syriac text of the Diatessaron itself was quoted by the common source of Isho'dad and Barsalibi for the sake of the addition. Barsalibi is still unedited, but the quotation from Isho'dad is given by Dr Harris in his *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron*.

The passage from Barsalibi's Commentary on the Gospels runs as follows (B.M. Add 7184, *fol.* 37)

[illegible]

*And immediately, as the Gospel of the Diatessaron (i.e. the Mixed) testifies, a mighty light flashed upon the Jordan and the river was girdled with white clouds, and there appeared his many hosts that were uttering praise in the air; and Jordan stood still from its flowing, though its waters were not troubled, and a pleasant odour therefrom was wafted.*

Ishoʻdad gives this curious passage in almost the same words: it may be conjectured to have been taken from some early Hymn, perhaps one of S. Ephraim's own. Dr Harris remarks (p. 44): "It is not necessary to suppose that the whole of the extract...is from Tatian. Probably the quotation is contained in the first clause, or, at most, in the words

”הענין נמצא [בזה] כי כל מה שהיה

I have added ܠܡܢ from Barsalibi, though it is omitted by Isho'dad and Dr Harris, as ܠܡܢ ܕܝܡܢ corresponds to the Old Latin readings in Matt iii 16, where we find 'lumen ingens' in *a* and 'lumen magnum' in *g*. It may be remarked that *g* (Cod. Sangermanensis), where it differs from the majority of Latin mss, in several instances presents us with readings attested for the Diatessaron.]<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quotations from works of S. Ephraim, which are certainly genuine but are only preserved in mss later than the 7th century, are marked off from the rest by the use of square brackets.

Matt iii 17, Mk i 11, Lk iii 22 = *Rom.* v 545 A, vi 16 c ('Quotations' 28)

ܐܬܝܬ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܢ (v 545 A)

'This is my son, yea my beloved.'

ܐܬܝܬ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܢ (vi 16 c)

This is my son and my beloved.

For ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ('and my beloved'), Pesh. has ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ('the beloved') in accordance with the Greek  $\delta\ \nu\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ , but ܐܬܝܬܝܢ is the reading of *SC* in Matt iii 17 and of *S* in Lk iii 22, i.e. of syr.vt wherever it is extant<sup>1</sup>.

The evidence of Ephraim in v 545 is all the more striking, as the quotation forms a 7-syllable line (*hānau lam bēṛ āḫ ḥabbīḡ*); ܐܬܝܬܝܢ has only two syllables and so could not stand, but Ephraim instead of using the Peshitta *ḥabbīḡā*, which would have satisfied both sense and metre, preferred to expand ܐܬܝܬܝܢ into ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ.

Matt iv 5, Lk iv 9 = *Lamy* iv 525 and ii 815 ('Quotations' 69)

ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ

Now who had looked and saw thee, our Lord, on the head of the corner when thou wert standing?

The 'pinnacle' of the Temple is rendered by ܐܬܝܬܝܢ 'corner' (lit. 'horn') in *C* (Matt) and *S* (Lk). But the Peshitta has ܐܬܝܬܝܢ 'wing' in both Gospels, in agreement with *S* in S. Matthew. The 'pinnacle' is also called ܐܬܝܬܝܢ in a somewhat similar allusion *Lamy* iv 511.

Matt iv 6 (& Lk iv 9) = *Lamy* iv 523

ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ

(Satan) who dared and said to Him 'Fall from hence.'

This widely differs from all our Syriac texts, except that of *S* in S. Matthew, which has ܐܬܝܬܝܢ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ. The other Syriac texts all

<sup>1</sup> See also Matt xii 18 *C*, xvii 5 *C*; Lk ix 35 *C*. In Mk ix 7 and Lk ix 35 *S* has other renderings, but never the ܐܬܝܬܝܢ of the Peshitta.

In his Hymns on the Temptation Ephraim follows the order of S. Matthew, adding at the end that the tempter departed from our Lord *for a time*, as in S. Luke (*Lamy* iv 517). But these words are added to the text of Matt iv 11 in *S* and *C*, so that no stress can be laid on them.

יחנה יל אהבה בבית. חנה אהבה לא ויחנה.

The general turn of the sentence is taken from Matt xxiv 35, but 'one Jôd-letter' is the peculiar rendering of *ἰὼτα ἐν ἡ μία κεφαία* found in Aphraates and in *S* at Matt v 18, while *C* has the double rendering 'one Jôd-letter or one horn' (ܐܝܢܐ). But the Peshitta has ܐܝܢܐ ܬܝܠܬܐ ܐܝܢܐ ܬܝܠܬܐ ܐܝܢܐ ܬܝܠܬܐ 'one Jôd or one line,' an independent rendering which follows the wording of the Greek.

Matt v 39, Lk vi 29 = *Nis.* 72<sup>124</sup> ('Quotations' 28)

[illegible]

*'He that smiteth thee on thy cheek, thine other cheek present to him.'*

[Matt vi 11, Lk xi 3 = *Lamy* iii 53 ('Quotations' 70)]

אני דאכט ליבסטע דאס. ליבסטע אהערט מיט ליבלייך.

*As the Serpent's bread is constant, constant bread give us, my Lord!*

This is an evident allusion to the 'daily bread' of the Lord's Prayer. 'Constant bread' (כֶּמֶל כֶּמֶל) is the rendering of *ἄρτος*

ἐπιούσιος found in all Old Syriac authorities wherever they are extant, including the Acts of Thomas (see above, p. 105); it even survives in the Homily upon the Lord's Prayer by Jacob of Serug (B.M. Add. 17157, fol. 38). But the Peshitta has both in S. Matthew and S. Luke 'the bread of our need' (ܠܠܚܝܬ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ).

Matt ix 17 = *Rom.* v 538 c ('Quotations' 28)

ל מלחמה נכבדה נלחמו נגדו

*They do not set new wine in bottles that have worn out.*

Pesh. and *S* both have **ܐܬܝܬܐ** 'put' for **ܐܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ** 'set,' and **ܐܬܝܬܐ** for **ܐܬܝܬܐܝܬܐ**. The second variation is no doubt occasioned by the metre.

Matt x 5 = *Lamy* iv 545

לל לר חכמה כחכמה וספק. ספקל לחכמה וספק.

*'Ye shall not go in the way of the pagans, nor in a town of the Samaritans' land.'*

The insertion of **ח** before **כִּי־יֵלֵךְ**, like that of **ל** in the first line is caused by the metrical necessities of an 8-syllable verse. In **כִּי־יֵלֵךְ** 'pagans' Ephraim agrees with Pesh. against *S*, which has **כִּי־יֵלֵךְ** 'peoples' for *ἐθνῶν*, but in this particular rendering we may be practically certain from the evidence of Aphraates that the Diatessaron also had **כִּי־יֵלֵךְ**: see next chapter, p. 182. On the other hand Ephraim agrees with *S* against Pesh. in having **בֵּית** 'town' instead of **בֵּית־עִיר** 'city,' although **כִּי־יֵלֵךְ בֵּית־עִיר בֵּית־עִיר** would have made an unexceptionable line in the required metre.

Matt xi 19, Lk vii 34 = *Lamy* ii 747 ('Quotations' 29)

מא קאנאט אים און אים אומקומענדיג צו זיין פאטער. און ער האט אים געזאגט אז ער וויל אים אומקומענדיג צו זיין פאטער. און ער האט אים געזאגט אז ער וויל אים אומקומענדיג צו זיין פאטער.

*By the dissipated He was thought an eater...by the drunkards He was thought a drinker.*

The opprobrious words *φάγος* and *οἰνοπότης* seem to have offended the later translators, both in Syriac and Latin. *φάγος* of course could not be avoided; it means *vorax* and had to be so translated, while



the Syriac equivalent is ܠܐܥܬܐ, literally 'an eater' but practically meaning 'glutton.' But οἰνοπότης could be softened by translating it etymologically. Accordingly the Latins used *bibens unum* and *potator vini* to replace the older *winaria* preserved in *k* and Augustine, while the Peshitta (followed by the Harclean) has ܠܝܬܐ ܠܕܝܢ 'drinking wine.' The scandal of calling our Lord a wine-bibber was thus avoided. But instead of ܠܝܬܐ ܠܕܝܢ we find ܠܝܬܐ 'a drunkard' in Lk vii 34 *SC*, and ܠܕܝܢ (*shattâyâ*) i.e. 'a drinker,' 'one given to drink,' in Matt xi 19 *SC*: this latter is the word used by Ephraim.

Matt xiv 28 ff. = *Overbeck* 27: cf also *Lamy* i 263 ('*Quotations*' 29)

This is a reference to the story of S. Peter walking on the water, textually interesting because he is twice called ܡܥܝܬܐ (ll. 7, 27) and only once ܠܥܝܬܐ (l. 18). The name comes twice in the narrative, and Pesh. has ܠܥܝܬܐ i.e. 'Cephas,' while *S* and *C* have 'Simon Cephas.' The Greek form 'Petros' is very uncommon in the Syriac text of the Gospels: it occurs only in such places as Joh i 42 *S*. In somewhat similar allusions to the same story in *Lamy* i 263, iv 439, the name Simon alone occurs.

Matt xv 27 = *Rom.* vi 585 D ('*Quotations*' 29).

This is best taken in connexion with the quotation of Mk vii 28.

Matt xvi 2, 3; see on Lk xii 54—56 ('*Quotations*' 30).

Matt xvi 18 = *Overbeck* 352 ('*Quotations*' 30)

ܕܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ...  
ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

...the word of our Lord, that of His Church He spake, that 'the gate-bars of Sheol shall not be able to conquer it.'

The 'gate-bars of Sheol' (πύλαι ᾗδου) occur again in Eus. *Theoph<sup>sur</sup>* iii 27, iv 11, v 40, and in *HE<sup>sur</sup>* 417. The same graphic phrase is also found in a passage ascribed to Ephraim in the Severus Catena and in *Lamy* iv 673, 687. In Matt xvi 18 *C* and Pesh. have ܕܐܝܬܐ ܠܕܝܢ 'the doors of Sheol': *S* is unfortunately not extant.





of Matt xxi 3 run

ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν χρεῖαν ἔχει

(Mk xi 3 and Lk xix 34 have of course αὐτοῦ in the singular). The extant Syriac readings are

1 'For our Lord they are (or it is) required' Pesh. (Matt) (Mk, Lk).

2a 'For their Lord they are required' C (Matt).

2b 'For its Lord it is required' S C (Lk) S (Mk)<sup>1</sup>.

It is evident that we have here two independent interpretations of the Greek. According to the Peshitta ὁ κύριος is used absolutely of Christ (as so often in Lk, so rarely in Matt and Mk): according to S and C, on the other hand, αὐτῶν or αὐτοῦ is taken with κύριος, so that it means the 'master' of the animals, either as Lord of all creatures or as their legal possessor.

Thus the quotation in S. Ephraim's Commentary on Genesis, as given in the Roman Edition, presents quite a striking agreement with the Peshitta. The passage printed above within brackets agrees verbally with clauses in the Peshitta text of Mk xi 2 and 3, and the last two words agree in a characteristic variation with the Peshitta against the MSS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

But the fact is that the text of the Roman Edition does not in the least represent the text of the MS upon which it is based. The MS (Vat. Syr. cx) was examined some time ago by Dr A. Pohlmann, who published a tract upon it in 1862-4. The practical result of this investigation is that you can never trust a Biblical quotation in the printed text of the Commentary where it verbally agrees with the Peshitta. In the present instance the bracketed passage is not in the MS at all, having been added *de suo* by the editor (Pohlmann, p. 52); while for the last two words the MS actually has (Pohlmann, p. 54)

ܠܗܝܠܝܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ

in exact accordance with the Curetonian text of Matt xxi 3! The translation therefore of S. Ephraim's reference to the Entry into Jerusalem should run

<sup>1</sup> In Mk xi 3 S reads ܠܗܝܠܝܬܗ, as is clear from the photograph, not ܠܗܝܠܝܬܗ as was edited in the Syndics' Edition. S is not extant for Matt xxi 3, and C is not extant for Mk xi 3.





The other point concerns the rendering of ἐκδώσεται in Matt xxi 41. In ܐܘܠܐ 'he will let out (on hire)' Ephraim and Pesh. agree against *SC*. This word is used in all the Syriac texts of Mk xii 1 and Lk xx 9. But in the passage before us *S* has ܕܒܐ 'he will give' (as in Mk xii 9 and Lk xx 16), and *C* has ܕܠܐ 'he will deliver' (as in Matt xxi 33 *SC*). Thus the text of S. Matthew as given in *S* and *C* seems to avoid the word ܐܘܠܐ, though its occurrence in S. Mark and S. Luke shews that it was the natural one to use; it is therefore clear that S. Ephraim's quotation cannot be explained by the use of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. But neither can S. Ephraim's quotation be explained by the use of the Peshitta alone, as in the final clause the quotation differs as much from the diction of the Peshitta as from that of *S* and *C*. It may reasonably be conjectured that here as in other places S. Ephraim is giving us the text of the *Diatessaron*, and that the agreement in this single point between the *Diatessaron* as represented by Ephraim and the Syriac Vulgate is merely the result of literally rendering the Greek. But instances of this agreement are so rare compared with those where the renderings of the *Diatessaron* agree with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* against the Syriac Vulgate that it is worth while to draw special attention to those which make the other way. The case is in every way similar to that of ܕܡܬܥܝܕܐ in Lk vii 43, to be discussed later on.

Matt xxii 13 = *Nis.* 84<sup>230</sup> ('Quotations' 35)

ܕܡܬܥܝܕܐ ܡܝܠܐܢ ܕܝܒܐ ܐܘܠܐ ܡܝܠܐܢ

*They fettered that man, whose body was defiled.*

The reference to the Parable of the Wedding Feast is quite clear in the context, and S. Ephraim has just explained that the body is the wedding-garment, which ought to be kept bright and clean.

S. Ephraim obviously supports the reading of the better Greek mss δῆσαντες αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ἐβάλετε αὐτὸν..., which is also the reading of Pesh.; while *S* and *C* have 'Take hold of him by his hands and by his feet and put him forth,' which seems to represent ἄρατε αὐτὸν ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ βάλετε αὐτὸν..., the reading of *D* and lat.vt.



...הוא לא (sic)

For the first words *S* has ܐܠܝ ܐܠܝ (i.e. 'Eli, Eli') in Matt and ܡܠܝ ܡܠܝ (i.e. 'My God, my God') in Mk. Pesh. has ܐܠܝ ܐܠܝ both in Matt and in Mk. I owe the correct transcription of Cod. Vat. Syr. cxi (p. 263 *a*), given above, to the kindness of Dr G. Mercati, of the Vatican Library.

„dieses ist ja die

B.M. Add. 14654 (Lamy's B, but not cited by him here) has **ܕܝܢܝܐ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ** 'Be quiet! thou art stilled!' But both the MSS of S. Ephraim's Homily agree in having a feminine participle, so that the rebuke is addressed to the wind. *S* and *C* are unfortunately both missing, but Pesh. has **ܕܝܢܝܐ ܠܗ** (with masc. verbs and pronoun), and the rebuke is addressed to the sea. Here again therefore S. Ephraim shews his independence of the Peshitta.

ආගමන පිළිබඳව පිළිගැනීමේදී පිළිගැනීමේදී පිළිගැනීමේදී

(*Rom.* vi 585 D has

حلتك من فتوحك وحكم انتقامك

The second quotation occurs in the Hymns *De Paradiso* and is obviously a paraphrase. It is however noteworthy that both quotations agree in having a form of the verb **ספס** 'satisfy.' The first quotation



is from the prose Homily on our Lord, and is remarkable for containing the phrase "the sons' table," which is not found in any Greek ms or in the Peshitta, but does actually occur in Mk vii 28 according to S and arm.vg. That it was also the reading of the Diatessaron is probable from *Moes.* 138, where Moesinger's cod. B has "Yea, Lord, even dogs eat of the crumbs of the children's table<sup>1</sup>." Here again therefore Ephraim, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron unite in preserving a singular expression, of which the Peshitta has no trace<sup>2</sup>.

The allusion in *Rom.* vi 585 D to this saying of Christ is chiefly remarkable for the word ܠܐܬܝܬܐ 'crumbs.' This word is synonymous in meaning with the word ܠܐܬܝܬܐ used in syr.vt-vg, and is also metrically equivalent. The fact that it is found in the Harclean (both in Matt xv 27 and Mk vii 28) is curious, but the circumstance is too isolated to have any special significance.

Mark vii 33 = *Lamy* i 171 ('Quotations' 38)

ܐܡܢ ܠܝܬܐ ,ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ

'He spat on his fingers and put (it) in the ears of that deaf-mute.'

The variants in Mk vii 33 are particularly interesting: there are four rival readings extant in Greek, and three of these (if not all four) are represented in Syriac, or in translations from the Syriac.

(a) ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ Pesh.

*He laid his fingers in his ears, and spat and touched his tongue.*

This is the reading supported by most Greek mss, including B (8) and the 'Received Text' (ἐβαλεν τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ καὶ πτύσας ἤψατο τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ).

<sup>1</sup> The other ms has "their masters' table," in agreement with Matt xv 27.

<sup>2</sup> The actual texts found in syr. vt-vg are :—

ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ

Mk vii 28 S

ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ

Mk vii 28 Pesh.

ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ

Matt xv 27 Pesh. (S) (C)

[S omits the bracketed words, C adds ܠܝܬܐ after ܠܝܬܐ.]



rendering. For it is wholly unfair to equate the  $\mu\nu\acute{\alpha}$  (*Mina* or *Maneh*) of the Parable of the Pounds with the  $\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\nu$  of the poor widow, and the later Syriac scholars were quite incapable of originating such a mistake<sup>1</sup>. My friend Professor A. A. Bevan suggests that the original rendering may have been ܡܢܐ, in which case we must read ܡܢܐܝܬܐ and ܡܢܐܝܬܐܝܐ, as ܡܢܐ (a small coin, Heb. *gera*) is feminine<sup>2</sup>.

We may notice that the widow's mites are called ܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܢܐܝܬܐ in *Rom.* vi 677 E and in *Lamy* iv 541, 579.

Luke ii 30 = *Lamy* i 259, 261 ('*Quotations*' 40)

ܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܢܐܝܬܐ

'*Lo, mine eyes have seen thy Mercy!*'

This agrees both with *S* and the Peshitta. The regular equivalent for  $\tau\acute{o}$   $\sigma\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\acute{o}\nu$  σου, according to Syriac Biblical usage, would be ܡܢܐܝܬܐ 'thy Life,' and ܡܢܐܝܬܐ 'thy Mercy' looks like an intentional alteration of this. But if so, the alteration must have taken place before *S*. Ephraim's day.

Luke ii 34 = *Lamy* i 267 ('*Quotations*' 40)

ܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܢܐܝܬܐ

'*This one is set for falling and for rising.*'

The same words (and no more) are quoted in a passage of the Severus Catena (*Rom.* iv 129, 130), on which Mr Woods remarks: "The use of this expression without any further limitation is certainly curious. Now in the translation of the Commentary on the Diatessaron (see Zahn, II. ii. § 4 [*Moesinger* 28]) we have *Ecce hic stat in ruinam et in resurrectionem et in signum contradictionis*, and Ephrem's comment shows that this is not an abbreviation but a real variant. It seems likely therefore that we have in this quotation an omission of the words 'of many in Israel' influenced by the Diatessaron." Mr Woods's argument is certainly strengthened by the passage quoted

<sup>1</sup> The Harclean has ܡܢܐܝܬܐ, i.e. the Greek word transliterated.

<sup>2</sup> The very same corruption also occurs in the Jerusalem Targum to Exod xxx 13, which has ܡܢܐܝܬܐ where Onkelos has ܡܢܐܝܬܐ.





Luke vi 29; see on Matt v 39 ('Quotations' 41).

Luke vii 14 = *Nis.* 72<sup>179, 180</sup> ('*Quotations*' 42)

معاد. ام. کج. لکھلکھ. حله. حله.

*Now Jesus called to the dead man ' Youth, youth !'*

This remarkable reading is expressly attested by Aphraates, who says (p. 165): "And with two words He raised each one of them. For the son of the widow, when He raised him, He called twice, saying to him 'Youth, youth, arise!'—and he lived and arose. And the daughter of the chief of the Synagogue He called twice, saying to her 'Girl, girl, arise!'<sup>1</sup>—and her spirit returned and she arose." Thus Ephraim's reading (which is also that of D and of *a ff* of the Old Latin), was that which was alone familiar to Aphraates, and we may safely conjecture that it stood in the Diatessaron. But it is not the reading either of the Peshitta or of S.

Luke vii 34; see on Matt xi 19 ('*Quotations*' 42).

Luke vii 41-43 = *Lamy* ii, p. xxii f. (*supplying the lacuna in i 249*)  
(‘*Quotations*’ 42 f.)

41 וְהָיָה לָךְ שִׁבְעָה אֲנָשִׁים לְיָבִיץ אֲבוֹנָה. וְעַל שֵׁשׁ אֲנָשִׁים  
וְיָבִיץ אֲבוֹנָה אֲנִי הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה  
42 בְּהַלְבֵּשׁ לָהּ כְּלָיוֹת הַיָּבֵשׁ, וְהָיָה לָהּ שֵׁשׁ אֲנָשִׁים  
אֲנִי הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה  
43 אֲנִי הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה  
דָּמָה הָיָה לָהּ שֵׁשׁ אֲנָשִׁים הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה הָיָה

<sup>41</sup> ‘Two debtors there were to a man, a money-lender. One was in debt for five hundred denars, but the other for fifty denars.’... ‘Finally,<sup>42</sup> when not one of them had aught to pay him, he forgave them both. Which dost thou set in thy mind will most love him?’<sup>43</sup> Simon saith to him ‘I suppose it is he to whom he forgave much.’ Our Lord saith to him ‘Correctly hast thou judged.’

<sup>1</sup> Or we may regard it as a transliteration and render it '*Talitha, talitha, cumi.*' Traces of this reading also are to be found in D and the Latin texts of Mk v 41.



[illegible]

This Parable is quoted in Aphraates 381 in very close agreement with the extract from the Letter to Publius. In common with Aphraates and *C* against *S* and Pesh. it has ‘he said to his soul’ instead of ‘I will say to my soul.’ In common with Aphraates and *S* against *C* and Pesh. it has **ܬܚܝܠܐ** ‘stored up’ instead of **ܨܚܚܐ** ‘laid up.’ In common with Aphraates and Pesh. against *S* and *C* it prefixes the vocative ‘Soul’ to the rich man’s meditation, and it has **ܕܥܝܢܐ** ‘eat’ instead of the synonym **ܠܥܝܢܐ**. But it also has in common with Aphraates against *S* *C* and Pesh. the remarkable phrase **ܕܠܐ ܠܒܐ** ‘senseless’ (*lit.* ‘without heart’) instead of **ܕܠܐ ܝܚܝܬܐ** ‘lacking in mind’ as a rendering of *ἄφρων*, and it also has the singular instead of the plural in the last clause. It is difficult to assign any sufficient cause for this marked agreement between the ‘Letter to Publius’ and Aphraates against Syriac Biblical texts, except a common use of the Diatessaron.]









Here again the wording is different both from Pesh. and from *S C*, and the text of the Diatessaron is not given for this passage in Moesinger. But the quotation from Ephraim is taken from a prose work, so that it may not be a simple paraphrase. The chief differences are that Ephraim has ܠܠܝܬܐ 'in the street' for ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος, where the Syriac Biblical texts have ܠܠܝܬܐ 'in the roof' (Pesh.) or ܠܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ 'on the roof' (*S C*); and that Ephraim has ܐܝܬܐ 'recollect,' where the Syriac Biblical texts have ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ 'remember.' The omissions made by Ephraim at the end of xvii 31 are probably of no importance, as he speaks of 'our Lord telling us not to turn back' (*cf ver. 31<sup>b</sup>*), just before his more formal quotation begins.

Luke xviii 13 = *Overbeck* 28 ('*Quotations*' 46)

ܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ

*He [the publican] because of his fear was not daring to lift his eyes to heaven.*

The Greek has οὐκ ἤθελεν...ἐπάραι, and accordingly *S* and the Peshitta have *he was not willing to lift*. But *C* agrees with Ephraim, against the Greek.

[Similarly in *Lamy* iii 63 (see '*Quotations*' 70) we find

ܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ

*That sinner (it says) did not dare to be looking to heaven.]*

Luke xxii 43, 44 = *Lamy* i 233, 655, *Nis.* 59<sup>229</sup> ('*Quotations*' 46 f.).

The passages from *Lamy* i 665 and *Nis.* 59 only shew in a general way that S. Ephraim's Gospel text contained the incident of the bloody sweat. In this it agrees with *C*, the Peshitta, and *Moes.* 235, but differs from *S*. The passage from *Lamy* i 233 goes more into detail and is worth quoting:

ܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ

*It is written that there appeared to him an angel strengthening him.*

Here *C* and Ephraim agree in omitting 'from heaven' after 'angel,'

against the Peshitta and all other authorities, except a few patristic quotations (including Arius and Caesarius of Nazianzus). Wherever therefore *C* and Ephraim got their common text of this passage, it was not from the Peshitta.

Luke xxiii 38 = *Lamy* i 667 ('Quotations' 47).

ܠܗܒܐ ܠܗܒܐ

*Happy art thou, O tablet!*

The same word ܠܗܒܐ, a Syriac adaptation of *πιττάκιον*, is used also in *S* and *C* for the *ἐπιγραφή* of the Gospel text. But the Peshitta has ܠܗܒܐ, which must have been regarded as a more literal translation, as it is here found also in the Harclean.

Luke xxiii 43 = *Lamy* i 667, 669 ('Quotations' 47)

ܠܗܒܐ ܠܗܒܐ ܠܗܒܐ (667)

*From thee [Golgotha] he opened and entered Eden.*

ܠܗܒܐ ܠܗܒܐ ܠܗܒܐ (669)

*Our Lord took and set thee [the thief] in Eden.*

It is evident from these passages that Ephraim read 'in the garden of Eden' with *C*, Aphraates, and the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 244, 245), not 'in Paradise' with *S* and the Peshitta.

Joh i 1 = *Lamy* ii 513 ('Quotations' 48)

ܠܗܒܐ ܠܗܒܐ ,ܡܐܕܝܐ ܕܡܝܕܐ

*In the beginning He was the Word.*

This agrees verbally both with *C* and Pesh., but the English translation here given (which is demanded by the context) assumes ܠܗܒܐ 'word' to be feminine as in *C*, not masculine as in Pesh. *S* is deficient until Joh i 25.







may remark that there is no surer test of the Biblical text used by a Syriac author than the phrase used for the Incarnation. On the one hand the Acts of Thomas, the Doctrine of Addai, Aphraates and S. Ephraim, constantly speak of our Lord having 'clothed Himself with a body'; on the other, Isaac of Antioch and the biographer of Rabbula agree with the Peshitta in speaking of the Word made *flesh*, a phrase which (so far as I know) never occurs in Syriac literature before the 5th century.

This passage also is quoted by Philoxenus (B.M. Add. 12164, fol. 131 ra), with the reading **ܟܝܠܐ ܕܡܡܐ** 'and became a body.' This reading is exactly what is found in *C*, and as it is metrically satisfactory it may very well be the actual wording used by S. Ephraim.

Joh iii 34 = *Lamy* i 267 ('Quotations' 50 f.)

**ܟܠܐܝ ܡܥܥܟ ܡܠ ܡܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ**

*Therefore not by measure gave his Father to him the Spirit.*

This passage presents several interesting variants in Syriac texts, which can best be exhibited by quotation in full. We have

**ܟܠܐܝ ܡܥܥܟ ܡܠ ܡܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ** *Ephr Aph 122*

**ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܟܠܐܝ ܡܡܐ** „ „ „ *Aph 123*

**ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ \* ܡܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ** *C* (partly torn away)

**ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܠ ܡܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ** *S<sup>vid</sup>*

**ܟܠܐܝ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܠ ܡܡܐ** „ „ „ *Pesh.*

As to *S*, **ܕܡܠܟܐ** is not legible in the photograph. *Moes.* 105 has 'And not by measure gave he to his Son.'

The Greek of this passage is οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μέτρου δίδωσιν [ὁ θεὸς] τὸ πνεῦμα, followed by ὁ πατήρ ἀγαπᾷ τὸν υἱόν. If **ܕܡܠܐ** be really the reading of *S*, it looks almost like a conflation with syr.vg; but the independence of Ephraim in this passage needs no further comment<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Note that **ܕܡܠܐ** is peculiar to syr.vg, as it has now been definitely ascertained that *S* reads **ܕܡܠܐ** (*Expositor* for Aug. 1897, p. 117).

Joh vi 52 = *Rom.* vi 102 F ('*Quotations*' 51)

ܐܢܝܢ ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ

*How can this man his body give us?*

This is a mere allusion, with ܐܠܝܬܐ 'to eat' at the end of the verse left out and ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ (3 syllables) substituted for the Biblical ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ (5 syllables), doubtless for metrical reasons. At the same time it agrees in giving the order found in Pesh. against ܡܝܬܐ ܐܢܝܢ in *S C*. The order here preserved in Pesh. and Ephraim is that of cod. 69, and partially that of other mss of the 'Ferrar Group.'

Joh xii 2 (Luke x 40) = *Lamy* i 255 ('*Quotations*' 51 f.)

ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ

*When Martha was occupied in serving...*

This sentence belongs properly to Lk x 40 (ἡ δὲ Μάρθα περισπᾶτο περὶ πολλήν διακονίαν), but it appears in Ephraim as part of the story of the supper given by Lazarus and his sisters to Christ. Thus it corresponds to Joh xii 2 (καὶ ἡ Μάρθα διηκόνει), a clause which is literally translated in the Peshitta. But *S* actually has in Joh xii 2 ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ.

What makes the agreement here of *S* and Ephraim all the more remarkable is that the Diatessaron, as represented in *Moes.* 99, 204, and also in the Arabic, kept the two incidents quite distinct. But in Ephraim they are completely confused.

Joh xiii 5 = *Lamy* i 657 ('*Quotations*' 52)

ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ

*Our Lord purified the bodily frame of the brethren, in a dish which is the symbol of concord.*

For εἰς τὸν νιπτῆρα in Joh xiii 5 the Peshitta has ܕܡܝܬܐ 'in a washing-bason,' but *S* and Aphraates have ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ 'in a dish for washing.' This is evidently the text known to Ephraim.



The case is therefore exactly similar to Lk xxiii 38. There Ephraim and *S* *C* agreed in having ܠܡܠܟܐ, a word derived from *πιττάκιον*, but used as a translation of *ἐπιγραφή*. Here Ephraim agrees with Aphraates and *S* in having [ܠܡܠܟܐ] ܠܡܠܟܐ, where ܠܡܠܟܐ is derived from *λεκάνη*, but is used to translate *νιπτήρ*.

Joh xiv 23 = *Lamy* i 273 ('*Quotations*' 52)

ܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ

'*He that loveth me, unto him we come, and an abode with him we will make.*'

The latter part of this verse is quoted also in Aphraates 130. The one ms of Aphraates (Wright's A) agrees with Ephraim and with *S* in having ܡܠܟܐ 'we will make.' The other ms of Aphraates (Wright's B) has ܡܠܟܐ 'we make' with the Peshitta<sup>1</sup>. *C*, on the other hand, has ܠܡܠܟܐ 'I come' and ܠܡܠܟܐ 'I will make,' in agreement with Codex Bezae and the Old Latin ms *e*. I have but little doubt that the true reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is given in *C*, and the reading of the Diatessaron is given in *S*, in Aphraates and in Ephraim.

Joh xv 1 = *Lamy* ii 359 (cf '*Quotations*' 53 f.)

ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ

*The Vineyard of Truth.*

A number of indications combine to shew that this is a reference to Joh xv 1; or rather, that this is a reference to the passage in the Diatessaron corresponding to Joh xv 1, and that the Diatessaron had *I am the true Vineyard...and ye are the vines*.

The context of the passage quoted is not in itself quite decisive. S. Ephraim says of the loss of Nisibis to the heathen Persians: "The vineyard that belonged to my Beloved in a corner of fertile land (Isaiah v 1), that vineyard hath the oppressor rooted up, and planted

<sup>1</sup> This is not the only occasion where cod. A of Aphraates gives a better reading than that of B or *E*.



The verse is quoted again in a tract ascribed to S. Ephraim, which is extant only in Armenian (Ephr. *Arm* ii 288). After a quotation of Matt xxi 33, we read: "And again in another place He says *I am the Vineyard, and ye are the vine.*"<sup>1</sup>

Besides these passages from Ephraim we find other instances of the same rendering in early Syriac literature. The quotation of Cyrillona which includes the words ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ is given below<sup>2</sup>. And Aphraates says, with unmistakeable reference to Joh xv 1 (*Wright*, p. 288):

ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ

*He is the Vineyard of Truth, and His Father the husbandman, and we the vines planted within him.*

And again (*Wright*, p. 98 f.)

ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ

*For the Vineyard is the Messiah, and His Father the husbandman, and the vines are they that drink of His cup.*

This curious translation is not found in *S* or the Peshitta, though otherwise these two texts differ considerably in the opening words of Joh xv, nor is there any trace of it in the *Acts of Thomas*. It is therefore probable that it never found its way into Biblical mss, but there can be little doubt that it was a characteristic feature of the Syriac Diatessaron.

Joh xvi 11 = *Rom.* iv 37 F ('*Quotations*' 54)

ܐܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ

*And he said 'About his judgement, that the ruler of this world is judged.'*

Here *S* agrees with Ephraim in having ܐܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ, where Pesh. has ܐܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ, but both *S* and Pesh. have ܐܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ 'judgement' not ܐܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ

<sup>1</sup> The word translated 'Vineyard' is ܐܬܐ (as in Matt xxi 33 arm.vg), that translated 'Vine' is ܐܬܐ (as in Joh xv 1 arm.vg).

<sup>2</sup> See p. 151.





connexion with Old Syriac nomenclature is lost. Judas, or Judas Thomas, is the regular name for the apostle in the *Acta Thomae*, and the 'Judas not Iscariot' of John xiv 22 appears as '*Judas Thomas*' in *C* and '*Thomas*' in *S*. The name Judas Thomas also occurs in the Syriac Doctrine of Addai, and it was doubtless from a Syriac source that Eusebius got the 'Ιούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς of *HE* i 13.

On the 50 (or 55) passages quoted and discussed in the preceding pages must rest the decision as to what text of the Gospel was used by S. Ephraim. For my own part, I cannot think that the occasional coincidences of language with the Peshitta against the Sinai Palimpsest and the Curetonian, amounting to eight in all, are of a character to suggest the actual use of the Syriac Vulgate<sup>1</sup>. Most of them occur in passages which otherwise present notable coincidences with the Sinai Palimpsest or the Curetonian, or else differ widely from all known Syriac texts of the Gospel.

Against these are to be set at least three times as many agreements of S. Ephraim with *S* or *C* against the Peshitta, some of them of most striking and unmistakable character. The phrases 'My Son and My beloved' at the Baptism, 'the sons' table' in the story of the Syro-Phoenician woman, the statements that Hanna the prophetess had lived only seven *days* with her husband and that the publican in the Temple did not *dare* to lift up his eyes to heaven, the words used for the *tablet* on the Cross and for the *dish* which Christ used to wash the disciples' feet, the promise of *Eden* to the penitent thief, the name of *Judas* Thomas, and last but by no means least the statement that the Word became *a body*—all these S. Ephraim shares with 'Old Syriac' MSS, and with Old Syriac MSS or the Diatessaron alone.

There are not wanting also marked differences between S. Ephraim and these MSS, and these differences suggest that it was not the Old Syriac version of the Four Gospels, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, that S. Ephraim was using, but the Diatessaron. Whatever the origin of the Syriac Diatessaron may have been, and I see no reason to doubt

<sup>1</sup> The coincidences referred to are Matt xvi 2 (ܠܡܥܢ), Matt xxi 41 (ܠܡܥܢ), Mk xii 42 (ܡܚܬܡ), Lk vii 43 (ܕܡܚܬܡܐ), Lk xii 49 (ܡܚܬܡܐ), Lk xiv 31 (ܡܚܬܡܐ), Joh i 3 (ܡܚܬܡܐ) and Joh vi 52 (*order*).

the correctness of the tradition that it was the Harmony made by Tatian the disciple of Justin Martyr, it is certain that in S. Ephraim's day the wording of the text was very largely the wording of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The agreements of S. Ephraim with *S* and *C* are all explicable on the supposition that he was using the Diatessaron, while in many of the differences the reading attested by S. Ephraim is known on other grounds to have been that of the Diatessaron. This is the case with the curious statements that our Lord spat on His fingers when healing the deaf man, that He was actually thrown down from the cliff by the people of Nazareth, and that He said at the end 'Lo, everything is finished.' S. Ephraim also agrees with the express testimony of Aphraates, who seems to have used the Diatessaron habitually if not exclusively, that Christ said to the widow's son 'Youth, youth, arise!'—a form of the saying otherwise only found in the West.

I do not shrink from going yet further, and using the testimony of S. Ephraim to establish the presence in the Diatessaron of the saying about the Face of the Sky and the episode of the Bloody Sweat, neither of which belong to the true text of the Old Syriac version of the Four Gospels, though found in the Peshitta. The latter of these passages is quoted in the Commentary on the Diatessaron and has found its way into the Curetonian MS, but the former one does not happen to be mentioned in the Commentary and it is omitted in the Curetonian MS as well as in the Sinai Palimpsest. Thus it is only by the chance quotation of S. Ephraim that it is attested for any ancient Syriac text. At the same time in each of these two important passages the text as quoted by S. Ephraim has marked divergences from the Peshitta, so that these quotations in S. Ephraim cannot be employed to prove his use of that version.

These quotations, in fact, are exactly parallel to what we have already noticed in Aphraates. Just as in the quotation by Aphraates of words corresponding to Matt v 44, Lk vi 27, we find an 'interpolation' supported by Aphraates and the Peshitta but rejected by *S* and *C*, where nevertheless the Syriac renderings of Aphraates and the Peshitta seriously differ; so also Ephraim and the Peshitta agree in having words corresponding to Matt xvi 2, 3, which are omitted by *S* and *C*. In each case also the explanation is the same: *S* and *C* are







metrical necessities; but **ܐܝܢ** and **ܚܕܐ** are both of two syllables, and the change of order does not alter the rhythm, so that in these points there is a true agreement with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

Joh xiii 5 = *Cyrillona* i 6 (p. 566)

**ܚܕܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܝܐ**

*And He carried a dish for washing.*

Here *Cyrillona* agrees with *Aphraates*, *Ephraim*, and *S*, in the word used to translate *νιπήρ*. See above p. 142.

Joh xiv 26 = *Cyrillona* iii 158–161 (p. 579)

**ܡܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܝܐ**

*The Spirit shall come with His tongues, and the Paraclete with His revelations.*

This is not a quotation, and the reference is as much to *Acts* ii 3 ff. as to *Joh* xiv, but it is worth notice that the Spirit is masculine. In this point, therefore, the theological language of *Cyrillona* agrees with that of the *Peshitta*, against *SC* and the *Doctrina Apostolorum* (see above, p. 108).

Joh xv 1 = *Cyrillona* iii 289–290

**ܐܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܡܝܐ**

*I am the Vineyard of truth; and my Father, He is the husbandman.*

In reading **ܥܡܐ** instead of **ܚܕܐ** *Cyrillona* agrees with *Aphraates* and *Ephraim* against *S* and the *Peshitta*. Moreover he makes it quite clear that by **ܥܡܐ** he meant ‘vineyard’ and not ‘vine,’ for in iii 321 f. we read: ‘The robbers have entered the vineyard—they stole leaves and touched not the grapes,’ and again ‘The foxes tore between the vines (**ܥܡܐ**), and one only of them withered,’ i.e. Judas. And again, in ii 256 (p. 573), *Cyrillona* says of the disciples after Judas had left, that there remained **ܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ** ‘the vines of the vineyard without a wild-grape.’ It is therefore certain that the words of Christ familiar to *Cyrillona* were ‘I am the Vineyard and ye are the vines,’ and not ‘I am the Vine and ye are the branches.’

Joh xvii 11 = *Cyrellona* iii 395 (p. 582)

127 128 129

*My Father, take (and) keep them.*

This is identical with the quotation of Ephraim (*Rom.* vi 122 c), already discussed on p. 146, and to it the same remarks apply.

THE DOCTRINE OF ADDAI (*Wright* 43).

The historical, or legendary, work known as the *Doctrine of Addai* is our chief authority for the early history of Christianity in Edessa. In its present shape, with which we are here alone concerned, the *Doctrine* is a product of the latter half of the 4th century, contemporary with S. Ephraim and Cyrillona. The Gospel allusions are quoted by the pages of Phillips' edition.

Matt xviii 10 = *Phillips* מב

אמ"ק יב"ק. המלכ'ת - נ"ח פ"ה ח"א ד"א מ"א.

*The little lambs, whose angels see the countenance of the Father who is not seen.*

This agrees with *C* and Pesh. in having 𐎎𐎗𐎙𐎠 'countenance,' while *S* has 𐎎𐎗𐎙𐎠 'face.'

Matt xxiii 38, Lk xiii 35 = *Phillips* 12

•Kwim abantu abantu ka

*Lo, your house is left a desolation.*

This agrees with  $S^{2/2}$  and  $C$  in having **יבב** where Pesh.  $^{2/2}$  has **יבבב**. It agrees with  $S^{2/2}$  against  $C$  and Pesh.  $^{2/2}$  in omitting **לח** after **יבב**. It agrees with Pesh.  $^{2/2}$  in having **יז** which omitted by  $S^{2/2}$ ; but  $C$  has **יז** 'desolate.'

Matt xxvii 52 = *Phillips* ۛ

אבל אתם רבים ואתם חזקים ואתם חכמים ואתם ישרים.

*And not by a man had come the resurrection of upright and righteous persons.*

This is an allusion to Matt xxvii 52, where we read that ‘many bodies of the *saints* arose.’ In agreement with the Greek the Peshitta has ܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ‘holy ones,’ but *S* (followed by the Ethiopic) has ܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ‘righteous ones,’ alone among our authorities. The *Doctrine of Addai* goes on to say that the Veil of the Temple was rent ܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ‘from end to end.’ This recalls the singular phrase ܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ of Matt xxvii 51 *S*, much more than ܡܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ, the somewhat commonplace rendering of ἀπ’ ἀνωθεν ἕως κάτω adopted in the Peshitta.

Matt xxviii 19 = *Phillips* ~

[illegible]

*This Jesus the Messiah, therefore, we preach and announce, and with him his Father we praise and his Spirit of Godhead we exalt and worship, because thus we were commanded by him, that we should baptize and sanctify them that believe in the Name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit.*

This passage is of importance, as it distinctly refers to Christ the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity. We may therefore conclude that the ordinary text of Matt xxviii 19 had a place in the Diatessaron.

[Mk] xvi 15 = *Phillips* 22

നമുക്കു മലയാളത്തിൽ വാഗ്ദാനം ചെയ്തത്

*We have been commanded to preach His gospel in all the creation.*

This passage clearly proves that the *Doctrine of Addai* agrees with Aphraates, the Peshitta, and *C*, in recognising the ‘longer conclusion’ to S. Mark’s Gospel, omitted by *S*.

A reference to Lk ix 62 in *Phillips*  proves that the Doctrine,





For *μονή* in Joh xiv 23 all Syriac authorities have ܡܘܢܐ, but in xiv 2 *S* has ܡܕܝܝܬܐ, followed by Aphraates 437. It would be difficult to say which of the two words was really implied by the allusion in the *Doctrine of Addai*.

THE MARTYRDOM OF HABBIB (*Wright* 43).

The *Hypomnemata of Sharbel* and the *Martyrdom of Barsamya* contain no textual allusions to the Gospels, but there is one quotation in the Martyrdom of Habbib published by Cureton in *Ancient Syriac Documents*.

Matt vii 6 = ASD 29<sup>15, 16</sup>

חשבתי למי. ולא בול ממש לחלקי. ולא בזה חשבתי.  
מדם שמיני.

*It is written for us that we should not give a holy thing to dogs, nor cast pearls before swine.*

**ḥḥyḥ** is also read by C, but Pesh. has **ḥḥyḥ** 'your pearls.'

MARUTHA AND THE BOOK OF MARTYRS (*Wright* 44–46).

The *Book of Martyrs*, containing accounts of those who suffered for the Christian faith in the Persian Empire under Sapor II and his successors during the latter half of the 4th century, was compiled by Mârûthâ, bishop of Maipercat or Martyropolis, early in the 5th century. It was edited by S. E. Assemani in 1748, and again in 1891 by Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, vol. ii, pp. 57–396. Prefixed to the *Acta* in Bedjan's edition is a preliminary discourse, which contains several quotations and allusions to the Gospel, and it is from this discourse that most of the passages quoted below are taken.

Matt ii 18 = *Bedjan* ii 74<sup>3</sup>

מלך אל כחשק נחשק : כלל קצבא חסידא .

*'A voice in Ramtha was heard, wailing and weeping and bitter groaning.'*



٥، الم لم لعلكم من مائة كذا.

This agrees exactly with *S* and *C*, and they are the only known texts which add ‘that come’ to ‘offences.’

[illegible]

This quotation is taken not from Marutha's preliminary discourse, but from the main body of the *Book of Martyrs*, so that it is also to be found in S. E. Assemani's edition. The text is in very close agreement with Aphraates 381 and with S. Ephraim's Letter to Publius (quoted above, p. 133). This is especially marked in the rendering of *ἀφρων* by ܐܦܪܘܢ, instead of the ܐܦܪܘܢ found in *SC* and Pesh.

[illegible]

ܐܬܝܬܐ 'prepared' is the word used in Lk xii 47 by *S* and *C*, but the Peshitta has ܐܬܝܬܐ 'made ready.'





Lord and the *Epistles* for S. Paul, only quotes Acts iii 19 for S. Peter. The Catholic Epistles apparently formed no part of the New Testament as known to him. This agrees with what we know from other sources about the Canon of the New Testament in the early Syriac Church.

Lk xxi 48 = *Bedjan* ii 58<sup>6</sup>

ܐܢܝ ܠܡܢ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

*Woe to us! What hath happened to us?*

This is not a formal quotation: it goes on to say 'For our eyes have seen the slaughter of the saints.' But it agrees exactly with the words put into the mouth of the spectators of the Crucifixion by all Syriac texts except the Peshitta.

Joh x 29 = *Bedjan* ii 120<sup>10</sup>

ܐܬܬܐ ܠܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

*'The Father who begat me is greater than all.'*

This singular misquotation has no parallel elsewhere and seems to be due to a reminiscence of Psalm ii 7.

Joh xiv 1 = *Bedjan* ii 119<sup>15</sup>

ܡܡܠܐ ܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ

*'Believe in God, and in me believe.'*

This gives the text as printed by *Bedjan*, and it agrees with the Peshitta. But in his notes he gives the reading of another ms (probably that in the Vatican), which has ܡܡܠܐ ܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ ܡܡܠܐ, i.e. 'Believe in God and ye will believe in me.' This is what *S* also has, and doubtless it represents what Marutha wrote.

We have now passed in review practically all the quotations found in the extant remains of Syriac literature before the end of the first quarter of the 5th century. On the one hand, no clear instance of the use of the Peshitta has presented itself; on the other, these quotations and the mss of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* often agree against

the Peshitta, while the differences between the quotations and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* all point to a use of the Diatessaron.

I do not propose to examine the witness borne by the secondary Oriental Versions, *viz.* the Armenian, the Georgian, and the Ethiopic, to the original form of the Syriac N.T. A considerable body of evidence exists, which shews that all three versions were originally made from a Syriac text, but so far as I am aware it has never been discussed whether this text was a MS of the Four Gospels or of the Diatessaron. In any case it was certainly not the Peshitta, for the coincidences of text which are still visible, notwithstanding later revision from the Greek, are all with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and not with the Syriac Vulgate.

For the Armenian Version, see J. A. Robinson's *Euthaliana* (Texts and Studies iii 3, pp. 72-98), and F. C. Conybeare in the *American Journal of Theology* for October, 1897.

For the Georgian Version, see the same paper by F. C. Conybeare.

For the Syriac elements in the Ethiopic Version, see Gildemeister's Note in Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's N.T., p. 895 ff.

#### RABBULA (*Wright* 47-49).

Rabbula, the great organiser and regulator of the Syriac-speaking Churches, was bishop of Edessa from 411 AD till his death in 435. His biography was written soon after his death by an admiring disciple, and is printed in *Overbeck*, pp. 159-209. Two quotations from the Gospel in this work will be enough to shew the text used by the writer.

Matt vi 11, Lk xi 3 = *Overbeck* 168<sup>2</sup>

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ

*Grace at the setting of the Sun sent them the bread of their need.*

In the Lord's Prayer ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον is rendered ܐܪܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ 'continual bread' in *S* and *C*, in the *Acts of Thomas* and in Ephraim. But the Peshitta has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ, as here.



conformity with the text current in Antioch at the beginning of the 5th century, and the use of this revised *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was enjoined by him<sup>1</sup>. His efforts were eminently successful in this as in all his other undertakings. The Diatessaron was suppressed and the revised text of the Four Gospels soon attained a position of unassailable supremacy.

Two objections to the identification of Rabbula's revision of the New Testament with the present Syriac Vulgate must here be considered. In the first place I can imagine that the incompleteness of the Peshitta canon might be used as an argument against dating the version so late as 411 AD. The Peshitta, as a matter of fact, does not include the Apocalypse and the four shorter Catholic Epistles. It is true that some evidence for all of these books exists at the beginning of the 5th century in certain parts of the Christian world. But it is just these books and no others that are passed over in the quotations of S. Chrysostom and of Theodoret. Moreover the canon of the Peshitta, in which James, 1 Peter and 1 John are included, is really a nearer approximation to the full Greek canon than anything that can be traced earlier in Syriac. Neither in Aphraates nor in the genuine works of S. Ephraim is there a single reference to any of the Catholic Epistles, and the *Doctrine of Addai* says expressly: 'The Law and the Prophets and the Gospel...and the Epistles of Paul...and the Acts of the twelve Apostles...these books read ye in the Church of God, and with these read not others<sup>2</sup>.' This is the ancient Canon of the Syriac-speaking Church. The Canon of the Peshitta, so far from being in the late Bishop Westcott's unfortunate phrase 'the earliest monument of Catholic Christianity,' is only a half-way stage, which represents the custom of Antioch at the beginning of the 5th century, both by what it includes and what it leaves out.

Another objection which may be raised to regarding the Peshitta as the work of Rabbula is the acceptance of it by the Nestorians. How should the Nestorians accept a revision set forth by 'the tyrant of Edessa'?

<sup>1</sup> See *Overbeck* 220<sup>4</sup>, and see the discussion in the following Chapter, p. 177 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Doctrine of Addai* ܐܡܢ (Eng. Tr., p. 44): see above, p. 159.



This would indeed be a grave difficulty, if in the time of Rabbula the Nestorians had been, what they afterwards became, a definite sect of Syriac-speaking Christians. But at the epoch we are now considering the Greek Nestorians were as prominent as those who spoke Syriac, and it was not till 449 AD, fifteen years after Rabbula's death, that Nestorian doctrines were formally condemned. The pro-Nestorian school, as much as their opponents, derived their doctrine from Greek theologians; they would be as anxious as any party to possess a translation of the Bible which agreed with the Greek. As a matter of fact, very few 'various readings' favour Nestorianism against its opponents, or *vice versa*; the chief exception is Hebr ii 9, and in that verse the variation between  $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  and  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  is actually reflected in the mss of the Peshitta. Manuscripts of Nestorian origin support  $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$  in agreement with Theodore of Mopsuestia, while Jacobite mss have 'God in his grace,' a strange rendering which possibly represents  $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ .

As regards the most striking feature of difference between the Peshitta and the ancient use of Syriac-speaking Christians, the heads of the Nestorian party were at one with Rabbula. Rabbula ordered that in every church there should be a copy of the Separated Gospels and that it should be read, meaning by this (as I believe) a copy of his own revision<sup>1</sup>. But it was Theodoret, the partisan of Nestorius, who withdrew over 200 copies of the Diatessaron from circulation in his own diocese, and substituted in their place the Gospels of the Four Evangelists. Indeed Rabbula's change of front with regard to the doctrine of our Lord's Nature may have helped to spread the version that he recommended. If the heads of the Nestorian party had been persuaded to give up the Diatessaron before Rabbula went over to their adversaries they would not return to its use after he left them. A body of Christians in the 5th century who had once given up the Diatessaron would hardly revert to their heretical Harmony. Meanwhile Rabbula's defection to the anti-Nestorian party, as we may call the Orthodox and the future Monophysites, must have helped to recommend his Biblical policy to these also. Clear traces of the Peshitta text appear in the Biblical quotations and allusions in Isaac of Antioch, who died

<sup>1</sup> See the discussion in the next Chapter, p. 177.

about 460 AD after a long literary career<sup>1</sup>. It is noteworthy, however, that Monophysite scholars appear to have been less satisfied with the Peshitta than those of the other party. The fact that all later attempts at the revision of the Syriac Bible, such as the Harclean version, were the work of Monophysites may perhaps be taken to indicate that they had not adopted the Peshitta so early or so willingly as other divisions of Syriac-speaking Christians.

One point remains to be noticed. If my conjecture be correct, that Rabbula in ordering the use of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had really in view the substitution of his own revised Peshitta for the Diatessaron, it follows that the Diatessaron was the only serious rival that the Peshitta had to face at the time of its publication. That the 'Old Syriac' version of the N.T. had had a long and complicated literary history is proved by the extensive variation between the texts of the two surviving mss. The Sinai Palimpsest and Cureton's MS are clearly representatives of one and the same translation, but they differ in some places very widely from each other, almost as widely as mss of the Old Latin version of the Gospels. But the Patristic evidence that has been collected in this Chapter does not suggest that the version to which the Sinai Palimpsest and Cureton's MS belong enjoyed a wide circulation in the Church during the 4th and 5th centuries. Whatever may have been the state of things with regard to the Acts and Epistles, about which we know very little, it is evident that when Rabbula became bishop of Edessa the form in which the Gospel was practically known to Syriac-speaking Christians was Tatian's Harmony. This explains the success of Rabbula's efforts, and the absence of Gospel mss containing the Peshitta text mixed with readings derived from the 'Old Syriac.' The Latin mss with mixed texts are descended from 'Old Latin' mss corrected, but not quite thoroughly, to the official Vulgate. But you cannot correct a copy of the Diatessaron into a copy of the Four Gospels. It was not a question of changing the readings, but of substituting one book for another. Wherever the

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Isaac speaks of the Word made *Flesh* (ܐܠܗܐ): see Bickell's Ed., i 274 (p. 14). In a Metrical Homily printed in the Roman Edition of S. Ephraim as *Paraenesis* lxxiv, but really by Isaac of Antioch, Lk xvii 21 is quoted in agreement with the Peshitta, against both the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron ('Quotations,' pp. 21, 22).

change was made, and we learn from Theodoret that the change was made wholesale, no mixture of texts took place. The Diatessaron codex was taken away and a copy of the revised Peshitta was put in its place.

Meanwhile the copies of the unrevised *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* remained where they were. The two which survive contain no early liturgical marks in the margins, as is generally the case with books intended for service. They are, so to speak, library volumes. To us they are inestimably precious as survivals from a previous age, relics of the time before the Syriac-speaking Church became the servile imitator of Greek Christianity. But to the contemporaries of Rabbula, who allowed them to rest undisturbed on their shelves, they were neither recommended to be used nor condemned to be suppressed by Church authority: they were simply old-fashioned books to be left alone and forgotten. Thus it has come to pass that two MSS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* have survived, while not one single copy of the once popular Syriac Diatessaron has reached the hand of modern scholars.



THE GREAT TWIN COLUMNS ON THE CITADEL OF EDESSA

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

### THE GOSPEL QUOTATIONS IN THE *THEOPHANIA* OF EUSEBIUS.

The quotations from the Gospel in early Syriac translations from the Greek form a class by themselves. They cannot be accepted without further examination as evidence for the Biblical texts current among Syriac-speaking Christians. As a general rule we find that translators render the quotations afresh from the original without paying much heed to the current version of the words, while at the same time the use of a word or phrase betrays their acquaintance with the Biblical text in the vernacular. Consequently, where the wording of such a quotation differs from all vernacular renderings we learn little or nothing about the texts known to the translator; it is only from striking agreements with other texts, agreements either too peculiar or too extensive to be accidental, that we are able to draw our inferences.

The works of Eusebius were very quickly translated into Syriac, possibly during the lifetime of the author. Eusebius died in 338 AD, and the Nitrian MS of the *Theophania* is dated 411 AD. This MS is itself a copy, so that we are at once carried into a very early period. It is likely that the various works were translated by the same school, though not, I think, by the same hand, the *Ecclesiastical History* being much less slavishly literal than the *Theophania*.

The quotations in the *Ecclesiastical History* are for our purposes only two, but each of them contains an agreement with the 'Old Syriac' against the Peshitta. In *HE* II i 2 (*Wright and McLean*, p. 60) there is a reference to Matt i 18:—

ܒܐ ܠܐ ܬܡܝܚܝܢ ܥܕ ܠܐܬܐ ܥܕ ܠܥܬܝܪܬܐ ܕܠܥܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

This is word for word with *S* and *C*, except that *C* has ܒܐ for ܒܐ, perhaps by a clerical error. For  $\pi\rho\iota\nu\ \eta\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  the Peshitta has ܒܐ ܠܥܬܝܪܬܐ, while the Diatessaron (*Moesinger* 20) had 'Before she was given to a husband.' The agreement of the translator of Eusebius with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in rendering this phrase by 'Before ever they drew near one to the other' is too marked and too extensive to be accidental.

In *HE* I 3 (p. 8) we find ܒܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ. This is unbiblical phraseology, for both the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and the Peshitta have ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ. But the theologically interesting rendering ܒܐ 'in Him' agrees with *C* and *S*. Ephraim against ܕܡܪܝܬܐ 'through Him' in Pesh. On the other hand ܒܐ 'all' agrees with Pesh., as *C* and Ephraim have ܒܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ 'everything.' Upon such a point as the last it is obvious that no stress can be laid. Unless the translator was deliberately copying a Syriac version he was equally likely to choose ܒܐ or ܒܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ: it is only when the rendering is elaborate or striking, as in the former example from Matt i 18, that the text of these quotations can prove anything.



The quotations in the *Theophania* demand more attention. At first sight they seem to promise very valuable textual help. There are many formal citations of the Gospels by name, the quotations often extending over several verses together, and there can be little doubt that the passages thus incorporated by Eusebius in his work represented the text of the codex he used. But the quotations in the Syriac translation of the *Theophania* neither represent accurately the text used by Eusebius nor the readings of any ancient Syriac text. They represent a mixture of the Eusebian text with the Biblical text as known to the translator, and it is almost impossible at times to disentangle the two elements. For example, take *Theoph* iv 6 = Lk v 5.

<i>Theoph</i>	Syr.vg	<i>S</i>
ܐܡܪ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܠܡ	ܐܡܪ ܠܡ ܕܢܝܢܐ	ܐܡܪ ܠܡ ܕܢܝܢܐ
ܕܢܝܢܐ ܠܠܟ ܠܟܡ	ܠܠܟ ܠܡ ܠܟܡ	ܠܠܟ ܠܡ ܠܟܡ
ܐܢܬܝܢ ܠܟ ܐܡܡܝܢ.	ܐܢܬܝܢ ܠܟ ܐܡܡܝܢ.	ܐܢܬܝܢ ܠܟ ܐܡܡܝܢ.
ܬܬ ܬܬܝܢ ܕܡ ܕܬܬܝܢ	ܬܬ ܬܬܝܢ ܕܡ	ܬܬ ܬܬܝܢ ܕܡ
ܐܡܪ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܠܟܡ.	ܐܡܪ ܠܟܡ ܐܡܡܝܢ.	ܐܡܪ ܢܝܢܐ ܠܟܡ

Here we have (1) an agreement between *Theoph* and *S* in ܐܡܡܝܢ 'found,' for ܐܡܢ 'taken' (= ἐλάβομεν); (2) an agreement of *Theoph* and syr.vg in not having the addition ܬܬ 'now,' which is a peculiarity of *S*, and (3) not less than five peculiarities of *Theoph*, where it differs both from *S* and from the Peshitta. These are the insertion of ܐܡ before ܐܡܢ, the omission of ܕܢܝܢܐ, the order of ܠܠܟ ܠܟܡ, the addition of ܬܬ, and the word ܐܡܡܝܢ 'I will throw,' where Pesh. has ܐܡܢ 'I cast' and *S* has ܢܝܢܐ 'we will put out.' In other words, the translator has done just what might have been expected: he has translated the Greek of Eusebius directly, not rendering Eusebius's quotations by the corresponding passage of the Syriac N.T. At the same time the occurrence of ܐܡܡܝܢ suggests that he has been influenced here and there by the familiar words of the vernacular version, even where that version is an inaccurate or paraphrastic rendering of the Greek.

More definite results can be obtained from examining the quotations which occur in those parts of the *Theophania* covered by the extant fragments of the Greek. These were first published by Mai in the *Nova Bibliotheca Patrum*, vol. iv 109-156, 310-312. The Greek fragments consist of extracts, and only a few of the Biblical quotations are contained in them, but enough remains clearly to shew the method of the translator. Below is given Matt xxi 33-43 in the Greek as quoted by Eusebius, and in the Syriac as printed by Lee from the Nitrian ms.

*Theoph* iv 13  
 ܐܡܪ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܠܟܡ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܠܟܡ  
 ܐܡܪ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܠܟܡ ܐܡܡܝܢ  
 ܐܡܪ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܠܟܡ ܐܡܡܝܢ  
 ܐܡܪ ܕܢܝܢܐ ܠܟܡ ܐܡܡܝܢ

Mai NBP iv 122  
 33\* Ἀνθρωπὸς τις ἦν οἰκοδεσπότης, ὅστις  
 ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα, καὶ φραγμὸν αὐτῷ περιέθηκε,  
 καὶ ὥρυξεν ἐν αὐτῷ ληνόν,  
 καὶ ὑποκόμνησε πύργον,  
 καὶ ἐξέδοτο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς, καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν.



Here we have a passage of sufficient length to exhibit the characteristic phenomena of the quotations in the *Theophania*. First of all, it is evident that the Syriac text was translated direct from the Greek as quoted by Eusebius. It is far less idiomatic in style than either the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or the Peshitta: contrast, for example, the ܡܬܢܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܐ of *SC* and Pesh. with the stiffer and more literal ܡܬܢܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܐ of the *Theophania*. Characteristic also of the Eusebian translator is ܕܥܠܡܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܐ for δ' Ἰησοῦς. Moreover ܕܥܠܡܝܐ (for ܥܠܡܝܐ) in v. 35 and ܕܥܠܡܝܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܐ (for ܥܠܡܝܐ) in v. 42 depart entirely from the traditional vocabulary of the Syriac Bible.

A rendering so literal as that in the *Theophania* could hardly fail to present some agreements with the Peshitta which are not shared by the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, a translation marked by great freedom. Thus *Theoph* and Pesh. have the Greek order in *v.* 33; they have the same word for 'inheritance' in *v.* 38, though the construction of the clause is different; and in *v.* 40 they both begin the verse with **ܕܡܪ ܕܗܝܠܐ ܕܡܪ**. Against these we may set the omission of *ὅστις* in *v.* 33 by *Theoph* and *C*; the translation of *ἐξέδοτο αὐτὸν* in *v.* 34 by **ܡܬܠܐ** in *Theoph* and *SC*; the omission of *αὐτοῦ* at the end of *v.* 34 by *Theoph* and *SC*, where Pesh. has **ܡܬܠܐ ܕܗܝܠܐ** 'of his vineyard'; the rendering of *καὶ κατάσχωμεν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ* in *v.* 38 by 'and the inheritance will be ours' in *Theoph* and *SC*, where Pesh. is literal; and the translation of *ἐκδώσεται* in *v.* 41 by **ܡܬܠܐ** in *Theoph* and *C*.

It is especially noteworthy that the quotation in the *Theophania* shews no points of contact with that of S. Ephraim discussed above, p. 123. In v. 41 S. Ephraim, who is probably reproducing the renderings of the Diatessaron, has ܡܬܬܬܢܐ (with Pesh.) for ܡܬܬܬܢܐ, and ܡܬܬܬܢܐ ܡܬܬܬܢܐ against all other Syriac texts, for ܡܬܬܬܢܐ<sup>1</sup>.

An examination of the quotation of Lk xix 41—44<sup>a</sup> in *Theoph* iv 19 would lead to similar results, except that in this case the divergence from *SC* and Pesh. is more marked. This quotation is also preserved in the Greek (*Mai* NBP iv 129); the fact of its occurrence in the Greek extracts shews that the series of formal quotations found in the Syriac of the *Theophania* was really characteristic of the work as Eusebius left it, and has not been added *de suo* by the Syriac translator. When therefore the Syriac text of the Theophania is a literal rendering of the Greek Gospel text, the translator may be merely rendering the Greek as quoted by Eusebius, without following any existing Syriac version of the Scriptures.

The importance of this caution will be seen when we consider the quotation of Matt viii 5 ff in *Theoph* iv 2, 3. This passage is extant in Greek (*Mai*, p. 116 f), but it differs widely from the Syriac and the quotation from the Gospel is less formal. The Syriac quotation therefore may tell us what version of the Gospels was known to the translator of Eusebius. We actually find *ποίησον τούτο* Matt viii 9 rendered by *ܚܒ ܐܬܐ* 'do so much' in *Theoph* as in *SC*, while Pesh. has the ordinary *ܚܒ ܡܪܐ* 'do this.' The pronoun *ܐܬܐ* is quite rare in literature, so that its use in the Syriac *Theophania* is very likely due to a reminiscence of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*.

<sup>1</sup> The influence of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* upon the Syriac text of the quotations in the *Theophania* was first noticed in a review of Cureton's text published anonymously in 1859 by the Abbé Lehir, under the title of *Étude sur une ancienne Version Syriaque des Évangiles*, pp. 22—25.

But we cannot press the agreement of the *Theophania* with *S* in a much more striking point. Both in *S* (in S. Matthew) and in *Theoph* iv 2, 3, the Centurion is promoted to the rank of Chiliarch. All other authorities, including *C* and also *S* itself in Lk vii 2, 6, call the man a Centurion<sup>1</sup>. He is also called *ἐκατοντάρχης* in *Mai* iv 117, in the portion of text which does not correspond literally with our Syriac. But a little lower down (at l. 32 of the same page, in a passage of *Theoph* iv 3 which reappears literally in the Syriac) we read *ὡς τότε μὲν εἰς ῥωμαῖος ἦν ὁ τῷ σωτῆρι προσεληλυθὼς χιλιάρχος*. Thus the true text of the Greek Eusebius also called the man a Chiliarch, and the faithfulness of the Syriac translation is vindicated. But just for that very reason we cannot claim the agreement of the Syriac *Theophania* in this point with *S* as a proof that the translator is borrowing from a Syriac version.

Yet even after all deductions have been made there remains an appreciable number of cases, like the use of *ܐܠܗ* mentioned above, where the translator does appear to have been influenced in his choice of renderings by his familiarity with a Syriac version, and that version a form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* such as we know it in *S* and *C*. Thus in *Theoph* i 24 we find Joh i 3 rendered by *ܐܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ*, 'Everything was in Him,' just as in *C*; in *Theoph* iv 30 the *τρίβολοι* of Matt vii 16 is rendered as in *C* by *ܐܠܗܐ* 'brier(s),' while Pesh. has *ܐܠܗܐ* 'thistles'; in *Theoph* iii 27, iv 11, v 40, for the *πύλαι ἔδου* of Matt xvi 18 we find *ܕܠܥܐ ܕܠܥܐ* 'the gate-bars of Sheol' as in Ephraim and Marutha, though not in Pesh. or in *C*. All these coincidences with *S* or *C*, or with early Syriac Patristic evidence, cannot be accidental.

In one passage it is tempting to suppose that the Syriac *Theophania* may preserve the genuine reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, where both *S* and *C* have followed a different text. In Matt xxii 13, according to the Peshitta and the text followed by modern critical editors of the New Testament, the King in the Parable says to his servants about the Man who had not on a Wedding-garment: "Bind him hand and foot and cast him out" (*δήσαντες αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ἐκβάλετε αὐτόν*). For the first word the Peshitta has *ܐܝܨܐ*, the ordinary word for 'bind.' But the *Acts of Thomas* (Wright, p. 315), a work which uses the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, as we have seen above (p. 102), has a reference to the passage implying the use of the verb *ܐܝܨܐ* 'to fasten.' The whole Parable is quoted in *Theoph* iv 16, and the word used in v. 13 is *ܐܝܨܐ*, in agreement with the text that seems to underlie the *Acts of Thomas*. But *S* and *C* read *ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ* "Take hold of him by his hands and his feet," a reading which recalls the reading *ἄρατε αὐτὸν ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν*, found in D and the Old Latin texts. If we make the conjecture that the reading of *S* and *C* is really that of the Diatessaron, and that in this passage the *Acts of Thomas* and the *Theophania* give us the genuine text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, we have an explanation of the textual phenomena. But it must be remembered that this is a mere conjecture, and the translator of Eusebius may

<sup>1</sup> The Diatessaron, as represented by *Aphraates* 20, appears to have called him *βασιλικός*, as in Joh iv 46 ff.



quite easily have been following the Greek that lay before him without any thought of the current Biblical texts. It is certain that in some of the previous verses of this Parable he has paid little regard to the Syriac Bible in his rendering of the Greek. Moreover this theory hardly accounts for the use of ܐܠܗܐ by Ephraim (see above, p. 124).

The reader who has been persuaded by the foregoing argument will understand why I have omitted to record the *Theophania* readings in my apparatus to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. I believe there is no certain sign of acquaintance with the Peshitta or the Diatessaron on the part of the translator of the *Theophania*, and I believe there are signs of his acquaintance with the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. The translator translates for himself from the Greek, and it is only very occasionally that we can venture to assert that he is influenced from any other source. The only exceptions to be made occur when we know that the Syriac actually differs in text or in meaning from what Eusebius wrote: of this there are a few instances, one of which is important enough in itself to demand separate notice.

My friend Mr F. C. Conybeare has made it abundantly clear that in the *Theophania* and in several other works Eusebius could not or would not quote the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity<sup>1</sup>. This very curious fact is quite distinct from the deductions which Mr Conybeare and others have drawn from it. It might, I suppose, be maintained that Eusebius considered it unseemly to publish in a work intended for the general heathen reader the magic words of a sacramental ritual. Be that as it may, the fact remains that Eusebius in the *Theophania* (v 17, 46, 49) represents our Lord as telling His apostles to make disciples of all nations in *His Name*, without any mention of baptism. When therefore we find the full text quoted in the Syriac of *Theoph* iv 8 with some noteworthy variants, but including the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity, we feel sure that the translator is not giving us the text of Eusebius. It was therefore taken from the text of S. Matthew as he knew it, i.e. from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. In this way we arrive at the exceedingly important conclusion that some mss at least of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity, as in the ordinary text. The evidence of the *Theophania* is all the more important as neither *S* nor *C* is extant at the end of S. Matthew, and the Diatessaron is represented by an ambiguous allusion in the *Doctrine of Addai* and a still more ambiguous quotation in Aphraates. At the same time this evidence from the Syriac *Theophania*, important as it is, must not be made to prove too much. We have two mss of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*: one contains the Longer Conclusion to S. Mark, the other does not do so. In the case of the peroration of S. Matthew's Gospel it is quite likely that one ms might have the ordinary text, while the other had something different. If I may venture the conjecture, the impression I have formed from a study of *S* and *C* leads me to feel confident that *C* had the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity, but I do not think we should be justified in making any guess as to what may have been contained in the missing leaf of *S*.

<sup>1</sup> See Preuschen's *Zeitschrift f. d. NTliche Wissenschaft* i 275-288; *Hibbert Journal* i 102-108.

The text of the quotation of Matt xxviii 16—20 in the Syriac *Theophania* iv 8 runs as follows.

תם כחוד מנחמם דתם כחוד מתחא במלמם אכעא [אבכא] דאחפס למם  
 קולם לחלל אבא דאבו למם. <sup>17</sup> אבד עאמם מנמם מנמם למ מנמם  
 אהפלם. <sup>18</sup> קם דם מזב גאדמם מכלל בחמם סאבו אהבכ ל תם  
 אב, במל עמלם הנמחא סאדכא. <sup>19</sup> ולם סחלגדם לחמם בחכא.  
 סאבנדם אע עק אבא סבזא סומא דסמחא. <sup>20</sup> סאלם אע דקלם  
 במל תא דפסחכפם סמא אב בחכפ אב חלמם מתחא בחכא  
 לעלמם דחלכא.

After His resurrection from among the dead all of them together [as] was commanded them went to Galilee where He said to them, <sup>17</sup>and when they saw Him, some of them worshipped Him and some of them doubted. <sup>18</sup>Now He drew near by them and spake with them, and said: 'There hath been given to me from my Father all authority that is in heaven and in earth. <sup>19</sup>Go ye and make disciples of all the peoples, and baptize them in the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, <sup>20</sup>and teach them to keep whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you all the days even unto the consummation of the world.'

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE DIATESSARON AND THE OLD SYRIAC.

WHEN we leave the Peshitta and go on to investigate the literary history of the Gospel among Syriac-speaking Christians before the time of Rabbula's episcopate, we leave the region of comparative light and certainty for that of darkness and conjecture. The main question to be considered is the relative dates of the Diatessaron and of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Was the earliest version of the Gospel in Syriac a translation of Tatian's Harmony or a translation of the Four canonical Gospels? This question is exceedingly important for our estimate of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, because the appearance of the Diatessaron in Syriac can be dated with some certainty. Tatian left Rome for the Euphrates Valley soon after 172 AD and seems to have died in the East a few years afterwards, so that the first publication of the Syriac Diatessaron cannot be later than 180 AD. If the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* preceded the Syriac Diatessaron, then it cannot be dated later than the middle of the second century. But if the Diatessaron preceded the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, it will not be very easy to prove that any Syriac version of the Four Gospels existed before the third century.

#### *Notices of the Diatessaron in Syriac Literature.*

The principal notices of the Diatessaron in Syriac writings, or of its use among Syriac-speaking Christians, are collected below.

THE DOCTRINE OF ADDAI, which gives the traditional account of the foundation of Christianity at Edessa, is in its present form a work of





(p. 25). And again we read concerning certain Edessene converts that Addai “associated them with him in the Service, while they read from the Old Testament and the New, and upon the Prophets and the deeds of the Apostles<sup>1</sup> every day they were meditating,…” (p. 21).

From the first and second of these quotations it is evident that 'Gospel' and 'Diatessaron' are interchangeable terms. The author of the *Doctrine of Addai*, who no doubt represents the popular tradition of Edessa at the end of the 4th century, does not seem to recognise any form of the Gospel other than the Diatessaron.

EUSEBIUS'S CHURCH HISTORY may be mentioned here, as affording a curious illustration of the popularity of the Diatessaron among Syriac-speaking Christians. The *Church History* must have been translated into Syriac not long after its original publication in the 4th century, and the translator more than once slightly modifies the original in matters about which he had special knowledge. Eusebius (*HE* iv 29) had said

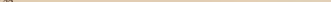
Ὁ μέντοιγε πρότερος αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεὶς τὸ Διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν· ὃ καὶ παρὰ τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται.

But in the Syriac (*ed. McLean*, p. 243) we read:

[illegible]

*Now this same Tatianus their former chief collected and mixed up and composed a Gospel and called it Diatessaron; now this is (the Gospel) of the Mixed, the same that is in the hands of many unto this day.*

To Eusebius the Diatessaron was a work composed he was not quite sure how, to the translator the Diatessaron was a well-known work, current among many people. He is also able to add the vernacular name by which it was known in Syriac, *viz.* ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܚܠܠܬܐ, *Evangelion da-Mēhallētē* or ‘Gospel according to the mingled Evangelists,’ a name which it bore in contradistinction to the Separated Gospel, the *Evangelion da-Mēpharrēshē*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>  I have adopted the punctuation of Cureton's *Syriac* text, p. 2 *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> See also Hjelt's *Altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung*, p. 23, note.

To this notice in the Syriac *Eusebius* hardly any further information is added by later Syriac writers, except the statement of Dionysius Barsalibi, in the preface to his Commentary on the Gospel of S. Mark, that S. Ephraim wrote an Exposition of the Diatessaron and that its first words were *In the beginning was the Word*. Barsalibi died in 1171 AD: it is not likely that he ever saw the Diatessaron or even S. Ephraim's Commentary. As in most other instances where he makes an interesting statement, it is probable that he is quoting from an earlier and better informed writer. The reference to Tatian in the preface to the *Nomocanon* of 'Abd-îshô' (Mai, *Scriptt. Vet. Nova Coll.* x 191) is a mere rhetorical comparison between the general plan of the Diatessaron and that of the *Nomocanon* itself. There is no reason to think 'Abd-îshô' was really acquainted with the Diatessaron.

THEODORET, bishop of Cyrrhus, N.E. of Antioch, from 423 to 457, discovered as many as 200 copies of the Diatessaron in his diocese of eight hundred villages<sup>1</sup>, a circumstance that shews that the use of the work was by no means confined to Edessa. He says: "Tatian also composed the Gospel called *Diatessaron*, removing the genealogies and all the other passages which shew that the Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh. This was used not only by the members of his party, but even by those who followed the Apostolic doctrine, as they did not perceive the evil design of the composition, but used the book in their simplicity for its conciseness. And I found also myself more than two hundred such books, which had been received with respect in our churches; and having gathered all together, I caused them to be laid aside, and introduced in their place the Gospels of the four Evangelists (τὰ τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀντὶσθήγαγον εὐαγγέλια)<sup>2</sup>."

Thus a few years after the publication of Rabbula's revised version of the Four Gospels we find the Diatessaron being actually suppressed in a neighbouring diocese. From the time of Theodoret and his contemporaries it ceased to be a living feature of Syriac Church life.

<sup>1</sup> *Gibbon* vi 111, note.

<sup>2</sup> Theodoret. *Haeret. Fab.* i 20 (*Migne* lxxxiii 379 f). The Greek is also given by Westcott, *Canon* i iv § 10, by Credner, *Beiträge*, i 442 and by Ciasca, p. ix.

*Notices in Syriac writings of the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.*

The name *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* has been used throughout this book to designate the translation of the Four Gospels preserved in the Sinai Palimpsest (*S*) and in Cureton's MS (*C*), as distinguished both from the Diatessaron and from the Peshitta. This use of the term is sufficiently justified by its occurrence in the colophon of *S* and in the title prefixed to *C*. But though *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* has for us a quite definite textual meaning, it is not by any means certain that those who used the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* ever called it by that name to distinguish it from what we call 'the Peshitta,' i.e. the revised version of the New Testament made and published by Rabbula. There are only two real references by name to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in Syriac literature; the success of Rabbula's revision put the 'Old Syriac' at once out of use, and as soon as it was out of use it was forgotten.

The most famous allusion to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, the passage which in Syriac literature corresponds to S. Augustine's notice of the 'Itala,' occurs in the Canons of Rabbula himself. He gives orders (*Overbeck* 220):

ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܝܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܪܐܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܪܐܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܪܐܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܪܐܢܐ  
ܕܡܝܬܪܐܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܪܐܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܪܐܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܪܐܢܐ

*Let the priests and the deacons have a care that in all the churches a copy of the Evangelion da-Mēpharrēshē shall be kept and read.*

What did Rabbula mean here by *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*? It is inconceivable that he was recommending the use of such a MS as *S* in preference to, or even in conjunction with, the Syriac Vulgate, although we may well believe that he would prefer the use of the Four Gospels in however inadequate a version to the use of a book like the Diatessaron, the work of one whom the Greeks classed as a heretic. I suggest therefore that Rabbula meant by *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* a copy of his own new Revised Version, i.e. a codex of the Gospels according to what we now call the Peshitta version. When he became bishop of Edessa it is evident that Tatian's Harmony was practically the only form of the Gospel in circulation. Individual scholars certainly, and the Bardesanian heretics probably, used the Four Gospels

in a translation akin to *S* and *C*, but the Church generally was familiar with the Diatessaron alone. The new revision of Rabbula and the 'Old Syriac' version on which it was based shared with such mss as *S* or *C* the title *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, in contradistinction to the Diatessaron, or *Evangelion da-Mehallele* as it was also called. But when the Diatessaron disappeared from circulation the term "Gospel according to the Separate Evangelists" became unmeaning. It was simply now the "Gospel" *sans phrase*. The presence of the title ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܦܗܪܪܝܫܐ in *S* and *C* is in itself almost a certain indication that the Diatessaron was still current at the time of their transcription and in the districts where they were transcribed.

The *Itala* has become a name for the 'Old Latin,' and with greater justice the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* has become a name for the 'Old Syriac' version of the Gospels. But just as I believe that S. Augustine meant by *Itala* what we call the Vulgate, so I believe that Rabbula in his Canons meant by *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* what we call the Peshitta.

The other reference in Syriac literature to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is a statement identically repeated in the Commentary of Barsalibi (on Matt xxvii 16, 17) and in the Lexicon of Bar Bahlul (s.v. ܡܦܪܫܐ). I give the Syriac text from Bar Bahlul (*Duval*, col. 243) and the English translation from Barsalibi in the vigorous language of Dudley Loftus (p. 13 of the second fasciculus of S. Matthew):

*Bar Bahlul*

כי אכא. מ. שא חתום  
 סמך מן כי אכא. סמך  
 הן חתום כחול  
 החתום. סמך סמך  
 הן מן האתו חתום.  
 סמך חתום חתום  
 חתום חתום. חתום  
 כי אכא שא חתום  
 סמך. חתום חתום חתום  
 חתום חתום. חתום  
 חתום חתום חתום  
 חתום חתום.

*Barsalibi*

*Called Barabba.* Jesus was his Name, who is here called Barabba; for so it is written in the *Gospel of the separated*; and it is more evident from what Pilate said, in the 22d. Vers. *What shall I do with Jesus, who is called Christ?* Wherefore he was called Jesus; and the Evangelist was unwilling to Write his Name, that none might in his Book bear the same Name with the Lord Jesus.



Barsalibi wrote in the 12th century and Bar Bahlul in the 10th century; but their verbal agreement in the above sentence shews us that they are copying from a common source. What that source was we can only guess. It was not S. Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron, for S. Ephraim has no remark upon the other name of Barabbas<sup>1</sup>. Indeed it is remarkable that although the name Jesus Barabbas is given by Syriac writers such as Isho'dād<sup>2</sup>, Barhebraeus<sup>3</sup>, and Solomon of el-Basra, this reading is never assigned by them to the Diatessaron. The statement of Barsalibi and Bar Bahlul may therefore have been taken from a writer who was contrasting the reading *Jesus Barabba* with the text of the Diatessaron, and not with the text of the Peshitta. As a matter of fact *Jesus Barabbas* is the reading of *S* in Matt xxvii 16, 17, and it was doubtless characteristic of the 'Old Syriac' text of those verses. If this view of the source of the statement of Barsalibi and Bar Bahlul be taken, the phrase *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* retains its natural sense of "the Syriac translation of the Four Gospels as distinguished from the Diatessaron"; there is no necessity to take it as meaning "the 'Old Syriac' as distinguished from the Peshitta<sup>4</sup>."

There is one other occurrence of the phrase ܐܘܢܬܐ ܕܡܦܚܪܝܫܐ which may be mentioned here. In the year 1496 AD Ignatius Philoxenus, 112th bishop of Antioch, sold some books to defray the cost of the restoration of certain churches which had been destroyed by Tamerlane. The first and third of these were ordinary service books, but the second is described as *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in the deed of sale. At that late date a copy of the 'Old Syriac' Gospels would have been a curiosity; it certainly would not have been sandwiched between ordinary books for liturgical use. Assemani, who quotes the deed of sale (*BO* ii 230), supposes the book to have been a Lectionary, i.e. a book the correct title of which would have been ܐܘܢܬܐ ܕܡܦܚܪܝܫܐ

<sup>1</sup> He only says: "Ad hunc autem agnum verum suas blasphemias converterunt, eoque repudiato Barabbam homicidam sibi postularunt" (*Moesinger* 239).

<sup>2</sup> ܐܘܢܬܐ ܕܡܦܚܪܝܫܐ ܕܡܬܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܬܪܝܢܐ (*Camb. Univ. Libr.*, cod. add. 1973, fol. 133 b).

<sup>3</sup> Comm. on S. Matthew, ed. Spanuth, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> It is not improbable that the source of the quotation may have been the lost Commentary on the Gospel by Mar Aba, the disciple of S. Ephraim, extracts out of which have been given above from Harris, *Ephrem*, p. 93 f.

**ܬܬܝܢ** Gospel-book with separated Lections, and this is obviously the true sense. Indeed the tenor of the document in which it occurs suggests that this MS which was sold was in the handwriting of John of Mardê, who died in 1165. In any case it can have nothing to do with what was called *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in the time of Rabbula.

### *The Quotations of Aphraates.*

The earliest dated evidence we have as to the use of the Gospels or the Diatessaron among Syriac-speaking Christians is derived from the actual practice of Aphraates. In other works the dates of the original compositions, or of those recensions which have come down to us, are disputed or unknown. But in the Homilies of Aphraates we have the undoubtedly genuine works of a writer who lived in the diocese of Seleucia and wrote between the years 337 and 345. I propose therefore in the following paragraphs to exhibit passages which may throw light upon the document or documents he used when quoting from the Gospel.

Aphraates names neither the Diatessaron nor any of the four Evangelists<sup>1</sup>. But it is clear that he very often is using the Diatessaron. Thus it is probable that he is quoting the opening words of Tatian's Harmony when he says (*Wright*, p. 13):

ܠܐܝܬ ܕܠܗܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ  
ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ

*And also the Word and Speech of the Lord is the Messiah, as it is written in the beginning of the gospel of our Life-giver, that in the beginning He was the Word.*

The quotation is not however quite decisive, except to shew that Aphraates' copy of the *Diatessaron* did not begin with Matt i 1 or Lk i 1-4, for the word used is not **ܐܘܝܠܝܢܐ** 'Gospel-book,' but **ܕܡܬܠܐ** 'the good tidings.' The phrase used by Aphraates might easily, if it had stood alone, have come from one who used our separated Gospels.

But it is only one piece of evidence among many others, of which

<sup>1</sup> The 'John' mentioned in vi 12 (*Wright* 123) is not the Evangelist, but the Baptist.

the clearest and most decisive is the long summary of the Gospel preaching at the end of the *Homily on Love*. Of all the quotations of Aphraates this most surely rests on the Diatessaron and the Diatessaron alone. I therefore give a translation in full, setting down at the side the corresponding passages in the Diatessaron, according to Mr Hamlyn Hill's numeration of the Arabic Harmony, together with the corresponding Gospel references. It will be seen that the references follow the order of the Diatessaron almost without a break.

<i>Diatessaron</i>	<i>Aphraates, Hom. II (= Wright, pp. 41—43)</i>	<i>Gospel</i>	<i>Moes.</i>
<b>viii 27</b>	In His great love <sup>27</sup> He called happy the poor in	Matt v 3	62
<b>33</b>	their spirit, <sup>33</sup> and promised to the peace-makers	9	63
	that they should be brothers to Him and should be		
<b>29</b>	called sons of God ; <sup>29</sup> and He assured the meek that	5	
<b>28</b>	they should inherit the land of life ; <sup>28</sup> and He pro-	4	
	mitted the mourners that they should be entreated		
<b>30</b>	for <sup>1</sup> ; <sup>30</sup> and He preached to the hungry satiety in	(6)	
<b>38</b>	His kingdom, <sup>38</sup> and them that weep He rejoiced by	Lk vi 21 <sup>a</sup> 21 <sup>b</sup>	
<b>31</b>	His promise ; <sup>31</sup> and He promised to the compas-	Matt v 7	
<b>32</b>	sionate that they should be compassionated, <sup>32</sup> and	8	
	to them that are pure in their heart He said that		
<b>34</b>	they should see God. <sup>34</sup> And He promised again to	10	
	those persecuted for righteousness' sake that they		
<b>35</b>	should enter the kingdom of heaven, <sup>35</sup> and those	11	
	persecuted for His name's sake He assured happi-		
<b>40</b>	ness and ease in His kingdom. <sup>40</sup> And He changed	13	64
	our nature of dust and made us the salt of truth,		
	and delivered us from being the Serpent's food.		
<b>41</b>	<sup>41</sup> And He called us the light of the world, that He	14	
	might deliver us from the authority of death. And		

<sup>1</sup> ܥܥܪܕܘ ܥܡܠܐ, a rendering of *παράκληθήσονται* independent of what is found in *SC* and Pesh.

<i>Diatessaron</i>	Aphraates, <i>Hom.</i> II (= Wright, pp. 41—43)	<i>Gospel</i>	<i>Moss.</i>
<i>cf</i> ix 14 ff.	He made us good instead of evil and fair instead	(Matt v 45) <i>cf</i> Lk vi 35	
x 38	of hateful, and gave us love instead of hate. <sup>38</sup> And	Lk vi 45	
	He associated us with the good man that bringeth forth from his treasures good things, and delivered us from him that bringeth forth evil things from the superfluity of his heart. And because of His abundant love He made whole the wounds of		
xi 4 ff.	the infirm, <sup>4</sup> for He healed even the son of the Cen-	Matt viii 5 ff. Lk vii 2 ff.	74
33 ff.	turion because of his faith; <sup>33</sup> and He silenced the	Matt viii 24 ff. Lk viii 23 ff.	75
39 ff.	storms of the sea from us by His power <sup>39</sup> and	(Matt viii 28 ff.) Lk viii 27 ff.	
	chased away from us the devils of Legion because		
xii 7 ff.	of His kindness. <sup>7</sup> And in His compassion He saved	Matt ix 18 ff. Lk viii 41 ff.	
	alive the daughter of the chief of the synagogue,		
11 ff.	<sup>11</sup> and He cleansed moreover the woman from the	Matt ix 20 ff. Lk viii 45 ff.	76 ff.
33 ff.	impurity of blood <sup>33</sup> and opened the eyes of the	Matt ix 27 ff.	
42	two blind men that drew near to Him. <sup>42</sup> And He	Matt x 1 (Lk ix 1)	90
	gave also to His Twelve power and authority over every pain and infirmity, and to us also through		
44	them. <sup>44</sup> And He restrained us from the way of the	Matt x 5	91
	pagans <sup>1</sup> and of the Samaritans, and gave us power in His compassionateness that we should not be		
xiii 3	afraid <sup>3</sup> when they bring us up before the authori-	(Matt x 17) Lk xii 7, 11	(95)
20	ties of the world. <sup>20</sup> And He cast a division in the	Matt x 34 Lk xii 51	97
xv 9	earth because of his great tranquillity. <sup>9</sup> And He	Lk vii 48	114
	forgave many debts to the sinful woman because		
45	of His compassion; <sup>45</sup> and He made us worthy be-	Lk xiv 28	118
	cause of His kindness that we should build the		
xvi 7 ff.	tower at His expense, <sup>7</sup> and He cast forth from us	(Matt xii 43 ff.) Lk xi 24 ff.	120

<sup>1</sup> ܡܠܬܐ; thus agreeing with Pesh. against S, which has ܡܠܬܐ 'nations.'



<i>Diatessaron</i>	<i>Aphraates, Hom. II (=Wright, pp. 41—43)</i>	<i>Gospel</i>	<i>Moes.</i>
	unclean spirits, and made us a guest-chamber for		
<b>25 ff.</b>	His Godhead. <sup>25</sup> And He sowed in us the good seed, that we might give fruit an hundred-fold and	Matt xiii 4 ff. Lk viii 5 ff.	124
<b>xvii 27</b>	sixty-fold and thirty-fold; <sup>27</sup> and He was set in the midst of the world in the likeness of the treasure	Matt xiii 44	
<b>51</b>	set in the field. <sup>51</sup> And He shewed the power of His majesty when He was thrown from the height	Lk iv 29 ( <i>sic</i> )	131
<b>xviii 38</b>	into the depth and was not hurt <sup>1</sup> . <sup>38</sup> And He satisfied the hungry in their fatigue from five	Matt xiv 18	132
<b>43</b>	loaves and two fishes, <sup>43</sup> even five thousand men besides children and women, and He shewed the majesty of His glory. And because of His great	Matt xiv 21 Lk ix 17 Joh vi 13	
<b>xx 47 ff.</b>	love <sup>47</sup> He heard the Canaanite woman and raised up her daughter from her infirmity; and by the	Mat xv 22 ff. Mk vii 25 ff.	138
<b>xxi 2 ff.</b>	authority of Him that sent Him <sup>2</sup> He loosened the tongue of the stutterer, the man whose ear was	Mk vii 32 ff.	
<b>xxiii 4</b>	hard of hearing. <sup>4</sup> And the blind saw His light, and through Him they glorified Him that sent	Matt xv 31	(153)
<b>xxiv 2 ff.</b>	Him. <sup>2</sup> And when He went up to the hill to pray the rays of the sun were overcome by His light;	Matt xvii 1 ff. Mk ix 2 ff. Lk ix 28 ff.	156
<b>31</b>	and He manifested His excellent power <sup>31</sup> in the lad on whom the spirit came suddenly, and the demon of lunacy by His word He removed.	Matt xvii 15 Lk ix 39	(160)
<b>xxv 10</b>	<sup>10</sup> And He gave us a type and likeness that we should be in the likeness of children and enter the	Matt xviii 3	
<b>xxvii 28</b>	kingdom of heaven; <sup>28</sup> and He said and shewed	Matt xviii 10	165

<sup>1</sup> It is evident from the remarks of S. Ephraim (*Moes* 131) and his allusions to the passage elsewhere that Tatian took *ῥῶτε κατακρήμνισαι αὐτόν* to mean that the Nazarenes actually threw our Lord over their cliff. *S* on the other hand implies the reading *ῥῶτε κρέμασαι αὐτόν*, 'so as to hang him.'

<i>Diatessaron</i>	Aphraates, <i>Hom. II</i> (= <i>Wright</i> , pp. 41—43)	<i>Gospel</i>	<i>Moes.</i>
	concerning the little ones that no one should despise those whose angels at all times see the		
<b>xxii 13 ff.</b> ( <i>cf</i> xxvii 41)	Father in heaven. <sup>13</sup> And He shewed moreover His perfect healing in that man who thirty and eight years was infirm and He increased His mercy unto him and made him whole.	Joh v 5 ff.	145 ff.
<b>xxviii 49 ff.</b>	<sup>49</sup> Again He gave us a command that we should	Matt xix 21 ff. Lk xviii 22 ff.	170 ff.
<b>xxix 13</b>	leave the world and turn unto Him, <sup>13</sup> and He revealed to us that he whom the world loveth	Lk xvi 15	
<b>xxviii 36 ff.</b>	cannot please God <sup>36</sup> in the demonstration of the	Lk xii 16 ff.	174
<b>xxix 14</b>	rich man that trusted in his property, <sup>14</sup> and in that man who had delight in his good things	Lk xvi 19	
<b>18, 19</b>	<sup>18</sup> and his end was in Sheol <sup>19</sup> and he asked for water on the tip of his little finger and no one gave	23, 24	
<b>27 ff.</b>	to him. <sup>27</sup> And He hired us in the likeness of labourers that we should toil in His vineyard,	Matt xx 1 ff.	175
<b>xlvi 17</b>	<sup>17</sup> He who is the Vineyard of Truth.	Joh xv 1	
	All these things our Life-giver because of His great love did for us. And we also, my beloved, shall		
( <b>xlvi 20</b> )	be consorts in the love of the Messiah <sup>20</sup> when we	(Joh xiii 34)	
( <b>xxxiv 31</b> )	love one another, and we shall perform those two commandments whereon hangeth all the law, and the prophets also.	(Matt xxii 40) <i>etc.</i>	

This long series of allusions speaks for itself. Either Aphraates was turning over the leaves of his Diatessaron as he wrote, or (as is more probable) the Diatessaron was so deeply engraved on his mind that in epitomising our Lord's ministry he naturally followed the peculiar order adopted by Tatian. Even at the end, where his dependence on the Diatessaron is less marked, we have the Parables of Dives and Lazarus

(Lk xvi) preceded by the Rich Fool (Lk xii) and followed by the Labourers in the Vineyard (Matt xx), as in the Diatessaron.

There are many other passages where Aphraates evidently takes his Gospel quotations from the Diatessaron, as in the combination of Matt vii 18, Lk vi 45 in *A* 303 (= *Diat* x 37, 38), and the story of the Rich Young Man told in *A* 392 (= *Diat* xxviii 42 ff.). But mere confusion of the text of one Gospel with another does not in itself prove the use of a Harmony, and it must be remarked that some of the composite quotations present a different mixture from the Diatessaron as represented by S. Ephraim's Commentary and the Arabic. In any case it is evident that the writer who could make the statement that "Judas who betrayed our Saviour fell into the sea with a mill-stone about his neck" (*A* 253) was capable of inventing fresh combinations for himself. And if the remarkable agreement of the passage quoted above from *A* 41-43 with the order of the Diatessaron proves the use of the Diatessaron, there is another passage somewhat similar which almost as strongly suggests the use of the separate Gospels. Towards the end of the long Homily on Obedience, sent out as a synodical Letter in 344 AD, we read (Aphraates, *Hom.* 14 = *Wright*, pp. 301, 302):

And we, beloved,...nothing outside the law have we written to you, nor have we sent to you a treasure stolen, save from the seed and germ of the holy Scriptures. Counterfeit silver wherever it may go is not to be received, and old leaven is not to be kneaded with good flour. For <sup>a</sup>worn out wine-skins do not receive the power of wine and <sup>b</sup>a new patch when it lieth on a worn-out garment teareth it; and <sup>c</sup>the vine that receiveth cultivation giveth fruit and not wild grapes. And <sup>d</sup>the heart that is hard as a rock withereth the seed, and <sup>e</sup>the building which is set on the sand—the rain washeth it away and it falleth from the blast of the wind. And <sup>f</sup>the salt that hath lost its savour—the Serpent doth eat it, and <sup>g</sup>the inferior fish the fisherman doth cast out. For <sup>h</sup>the tares in their season are rooted out, and the chaff from the wheat at the last is separated. <sup>i</sup>And the inferior labourers in time despise hire; and <sup>j</sup>the foolish virgins whose oil fails—when the bridegroom cometh they are not able to buy. And <sup>k</sup>the steward who doth beat his fellow-servants—his lord cometh and doeth judgement upon him. And <sup>l</sup>the evil slave that hideth his lord's silver—he that gave it to him cometh and reckoneth with him for interest. And <sup>m</sup>the door-keeper that loveth slumber in the time of watchfulness is deprived of life. <sup>n</sup>The wise king while yet the battle is far off sendeth ambassadors and seeketh peace. These few reminders we have written to you, beloved, *etc.*





*evil intent. The one preaches the God that came to suffering, and Moses also preaches the Nature that came to grief: it was in order that their hearers should not be made weak that in the beginning of their volumes they wrote the excellencies of them.*

It is evident that the writer of this sentence was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel as a separate work, and not only through the Diatessaron. Moreover this view of the Gospel is curiously similar to that found in another passage, quoted by Philoxenus of Mabbog from S. Ephraim's Homily on Joh i 1, a Homily from which other quotations survive but which unfortunately is no longer extant in full.

Lamy ii 513 f. (corrected from B.M. Add. 12164; Burkitt, *S. Ephraim's Quotations*, p. 59 f.)

[illegible]

AGAIN, FROM THE SAME [S. Ephraim], OUT OF THE DISCOURSE UPON 'IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD.'...*For John started to write that which our Lord endured in His own person. Now he began with the story of the Son from where (it says) 'Through Him was created everything,' that he might tell in one sentence concerning those things that were through Him and concerning those things that were (done) in His own person; so that because of the great things that were through Him we might know to what lowliness He had descended, against whose person the shameful deeds were performed.*

By John therefore saying 'In the beginning,' he hath in fact called Moses to witness, that Moses might give witness concerning those things that were through the Son, that he might induce us accurately to investigate those things that were performed against

<sup>1</sup> ~~die~~ Cod. 12164 (*sic*).

*His person. Of old, therefore, through Him all good things were done for the universe, and at the last against Him all evil things were done by mankind: John therefore left that which through Him had been created and began to tell concerning that which He suffered in His own person. For when the witness began that through Him were wonderful things created, he started to tell that against His person the shameful deeds were performed.*

The point of view from which the aim of the fourth Evangelist is regarded in this extract is evidently the same as that of the previous extract. S. Ephraim therefore not only knew of the existence of the Gospel according to S. John, but also held a consistent opinion as to the plan and object of the work.

Moreover in his Commentary on Genesis (*Ed. Rom.* iv 18 D) he quotes the words of the Evangelist in Joh i 3. He says

ܐܝܬܐ ܠܡܫܐ ܐܝܠܠܝܬܐ (sic) ܕܒܠ ܕܡܢ ܡܡܐ. ܡܠܠܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܐ  
 ܐܬܐ ܡܡܐ. ܡܠܠܬܐ ܠܡܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ  
 ܡܠܠܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ. ܐܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ.

*The Evangelist said concerning Him that everything was in Him and apart from Him not even one thing was; and Paul also confirmeth it, and saith that in Him was created what is in heaven and what is in earth, all that is seen and all that is not seen.*

Here 'the Evangelist' is quoted as the authority for a statement, just as in the next line 'Paul' is cited as the authority for the point of dogma enunciated in Col i 16<sup>1</sup>.

Similarly in *Lamy* iv 659 we read that, just as the sun at the Creation shone forth on the Fourth Day,

ܡܠ ܕܐܝܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ ܡܠܠܬܐ.

*Lo, in Four Volumes hath our Sun shone forth.*

Here the Four Gospels are evidently referred to, in words which recall the colophon to *S* at the end of S. John.

These examples shew that S. Ephraim was acquainted at least with the Fourth Gospel in a separate form. This fact once established, we are justified in looking out for other indications of a knowledge of the separate Gospels. The clearest evidence, if it could be admitted, would be found in a tract preserved in Armenian and printed in the second

<sup>1</sup> For a similar citation of 'the Evangelist,' see Ephraim on Matt ii 23 (*Moesinger* 36).

volume of the Mechitarists' edition, pp. 261–346, under the name of *Targamnoutiun Avetarani*, 'Exposition of the Gospel.' This seems to be taken from the same MS as that from which the Commentary on the Diatessaron is printed, and called by Moesinger A; it contains also some Homilies ascribed to S. Ephraim<sup>1</sup>. That the tract is a translation from the Syriac seems clear, and some of the quotations present a text such as would be used by a Syriac writer at the end of the fourth century<sup>2</sup>. But the style is not very like S. Ephraim's, and the number of direct quotations from the Scriptures is far larger than we should expect to find in a genuine work of his. Moreover some of the Old Testament quotations follow the LXX<sup>3</sup>—a sure sign that their text has been altered by the translator to agree with the version with which he was familiar. As in the case of the Commentary on the Diatessaron itself, where the same state of things to a slight extent prevails, it is only where the text of the quotations differs from that of the Armenian Vulgate that we can be quite sure that it represents the version used by the original Syriac writer. In cases where the Gospels are quoted by name it is therefore only too probable that the text has been doctored by the translator, and the ascription of the quotations to the several evangelists may have been the work of the same hand<sup>4</sup>.

### *References to the Greek in Ephraim's Commentary.*

The Armenian MSS of S. Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron contain at the end a paragraph very loosely joined on to the rest of the work, in which the characteristics of the four Gospels are given, partly from Eusebius *HE* iii 39 (*Moesinger* 286). Of more importance are three passages in the body of the Commentary, in each of which "the Greek" is quoted. It is not quite clear what source is here intended by S. Ephraim, but it may be well to quote them in spite of their obscurity.

<sup>1</sup> Ephr. *Arm.*, Preface, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See especially p. 288, where we read "And again in another place he saith: 'I am the vineyard (*այգի*) and ye are the vine (*բլու*); every vine that in me is planted and giveth not fruit, it is plucked up.'" This corresponds to the very peculiar rendering of Joh xv 1 characteristic of the *Diatessaron*.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the quotation from Isaiah xlix 14–16, p. 264.

<sup>4</sup> Quotations of the Gospels by name are to be found on p. 328 ff. Some of these so-called quotations are strangely paraphrastic, e.g. on p. 329 we read: "And again this is what Matthew says, 'When ye shall see the filth of corruption that it standeth in the place of holiness in Jerusalem—by Daniel the prophet it was announced, let him that readeth lay it to heart.'"

"Thou shalt cause a spear to pass, i.e. apostasy : but the Greek clearly says, *Thoughts*, it says, *will be revealed from many hearts*—those who doubted."

"[Mary] saw that the wine had failed and she knew that not without cause He had come to this wedding. The Greek writes: *He was sitting down and the wine failed.*"

“And this that it says *I confess to Thee, heavenly Father*; the Greek says *I confess to Thee, O God, Father, Lord of heaven and earth.*”

The question is complicated by the unfortunate circumstance that neither *S* nor *C* is extant for Joh ii 2, 3. The text cited by S. Ephraim evidently represents ἐκλίθη (or ἀνεκλίθη or κατεκλίθη), while all our Greek mss and of course the Peshitta have ἐκλήθη. It is just possible that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* here had ܡܬܬܠܝܬܐ by a misreading of ἐκλήθη, just as in Lk iv 29 it represents κατακρημνίσαι by a word which implies [κατα]κρεμάσαι.

As to Lk ii 35, it is exceedingly doubtful what the passage from 'the Greek' is precisely meant to attest. The words *Thoughts will be revealed from many hearts* agree exactly with the Armenian Vulgate in Lk ii 35. It is of course possible, though not very probable that in all three cases 'the Greek' is an interpretative rendering of the Armenian translator of the Commentary, the original Syriac expression actually used by S. Ephraim having been a different technical term.

Probably we should read ~~ⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁⲓ~~ ~~ⲓⲥⲁⲛⲁⲓ~~ in accordance with the text and order of the Armenian. It should be noticed that there is no reference in Ishô'dâd to 'the Greek.'



*Internal evidences of the date of the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.*

The main result arrived at in the preceding investigation has been to shew that the Diatessaron was by far the most widely used form in which the Gospel was current among Syriac-speaking Christians before the 5th century. At the same time, as far back as our evidence goes, we still find traces of the use of the Four Gospels in Syriac. For the solution therefore of the question whether the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* be older or younger than the Syriac Diatessaron we must ultimately resort to internal evidence, i.e. to the character of the texts themselves.

First of all comes the question of the language in which the Diatessaron was originally composed. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is a translation from the Greek. Even if the translator knew the Diatessaron in Syriac and was greatly influenced by it, it is nevertheless obvious that a text of the Four Gospels cannot be evolved from the Diatessaron alone. But it is conceivable that the Diatessaron of Tatian might have been a purely Syriac work, compiled out of the text of the Four Gospels then current in a Syriac Version. It is therefore important to shew that in a number of leading variants and in a number of renderings of noteworthy passages the Diatessaron differs widely from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, representing, in fact, a different type of Greek text and a different style of translation.

*Differences between the Ev. da-Mepharreshe and the Diatessaron in the underlying Greek text.*

Matt iii 16 (*The Light at the Baptism*).

The evidence collected above on p. 115 from Barsalibi and others makes it quite clear that the Diatessaron contained an account of the 'mighty light' that appeared at the Baptism of Christ. This light is referred to by Justin (*Dial.* 88) and appears in what seems to be the oldest stratum of the Old Latin. But in *S* and *C* there is no trace of this addition.

Matt vi 1 ('Do not your gift before men').

There is a well-marked various reading in this verse and the Syriac

texts take different sides. The Diatessaron and *C* support *δόσω* (= *𐤏<sup>a</sup> boh*); *S* supports *δικαιοσύνην* (= *𐤏<sup>\*,b</sup> B D 1&c latt.exc. k*); syr.vg supports *ἐλεημοσύνην* (= *ⲥ*, also *k*). It is natural to suppose that *S* represents the original text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in this passage and that *C* has been altered from the Diatessaron.

Matt xvi 2, 3 ('*The Face of the Sky*').

The well-known interpolation of the saying about the Face of the Sky is omitted in *S* and *C* (= *𐤏B 13&c 157 arm*). But, as we have seen already on p. 134, S. Ephraim quotes the words and his quotation contains the characteristically Old Syriac word *ܠܝܥܐ* (Lk xii 55), so that there is no room for suspicion that he was using the Peshitta. The interpolation must therefore have stood in the Diatessaron, which here again is found in agreement with D and the Latins.

Matt xvii 26 ('*as if a stranger*').

The Arabic Diatessaron (xxv 6) in telling the story of the Tribute-money makes a notable addition. We read

"Jesus said to him 'The sons then are free?' Simon said to him 'Yea!' Jesus said to him 'Give thou also to him as a stranger.'"

This addition is attested for the Diatessaron by Ephraim (*Moes.* 161). It is found also in the Greek minuscule 713, but not in *S* or *C*.

Matt xxvii 16, 17 (*Jesus Barabbas*).

That the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* gave the name Jesus to Barabbas is definitely asserted by the common source of Bar Bahlul and Barsalibi (see above, p. 178 f.), and this reading is confirmed by *S*. It is found in 1\*-118-209\*, in the margin of several inferior mss, and in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary<sup>1</sup>. It was also the reading of Origen and there is good reason for thinking that it stood in the immediate archetype of B. But there is no trace of it in the Diatessaron, or in any Old Latin text.

Mk i 41 ('*being angry*').

When the leper came and begged to be cleansed, our Lord granted his request, being, according to the ordinary text, *moved with compassion*

<sup>1</sup> Not however in the ancient fragments, published by Land, of a MS of the Gospels.

(σπλαγχνισθείς). This is also the reading of *S*. But the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 143, 144) very expressly supports the other reading *being angry* (ὀργισθείς), which is that of *D* and the Old Latin.

Mk vii 33 (*Spitting on the fingers*).

From the evidence collected above (p. 127 *f.*) we learn that the Diatessaron supported the curious reading ἔπτυσεν εἰς τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ (*He spat on His fingers and put it in the ears of that deaf-mute*), found in *W*<sup>d</sup>. But *S* has another reading, which nevertheless differs from the ordinary text and agrees with cod. 28 and the 'Ferrar Group.'

Mk ix 15 (προσπρέχοντες, προσχαίροντες).

The variation between these words may be conjectured to have arisen from an accidental permutation of letters. The majority of Greek mss with *S* support προσπρέχοντες, while *D* and the Latins support προσχαίροντες. The Arabic Diatessaron (xxiv 26) has

والناس لما ابصروا يسوع حاروا وفي اثناء سرورهم اسرعوا وسالوا عن سلامته.

*And the folk when they perceived Jesus were amazed and in the midst of their joy they ran and greeted him*<sup>1</sup>.

The regular way to use the Arabic Diatessaron is to compare it with the corresponding verse in syr.vg: the differences between the two texts represent readings of the original Harmony. Here there are two such differences, *viz.* 'Jesus' instead of 'him' in the first clause and the insertion of 'in the midst of their joy' before 'they ran' in the second clause. The first variant is attested by *D b c ff k*, the same authorities that read προσχαίροντες instead of προσπρέχοντες, and it is evident that 'in the midst of their joy' stands ultimately for προσχαίροντες, the intermediate Syriac stage being, I suppose, ܡܕܢܝܐ. The Arabic therefore has a conflated text containing equivalents both for προσπρέχοντες and for προσχαίροντες. This double rendering can hardly be original. Doubtless the words corresponding to 'ran and' come

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic mss are said to have جاروا, which may either be جَارُوا *they lowed* (like an ox), or جَارُوا *they raced*, or جَارُوا *they drew back*,—none of which are suitable, or explicable from the context. The corresponding word in the Peshitta and *S* is ܐܡܢܝܐ, and as the substantive حيرة *amazement* is used in Diat xlii 19 to render ܐܡܢܝܐ (Lk xxi 25, *sic*) I think there can be little doubt that the word here meant is حاروا *they were amazed*.

ultimately from the Peshitta, or the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* itself, and the true text of Tatian's Harmony in this passage agreed completely with the 'Western' authorities.

Mk xvi 9-20 (*The Longer Conclusion*).

The so-called 'Last Twelve Verses' of S. Mark are omitted altogether in *S*, the Gospel ending at xvi 8, which is immediately followed on the same column by the beginning of S. Luke. The verses are found in *C*. They also form an integral part of the Diatessaron, as is clear from the allusions in Aphraates and in the *Doctrine of Addai*. In this most important feature, therefore, the Greek text underlying the Diatessaron differed from the Greek text underlying *S*.

And there can be little doubt that *S*, which omits the verses, more truly represents the genuine text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* than *C*, which inserts them. It is impossible to conceive any Syriac-speaking community suppressing the verses: the mere fact that positive evidence for their omission exists is enough to shew that the original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* did not contain them.

Lk vii 14 ('*Youth, youth!*').

The doubled  $\text{Νεανίσκς}$ , which is found in D and in the Old Latin  $\alpha$  and  $\text{ff}$ , is expressly attested by Aphraates and by Ephraim, but is not found in *S*. There is no reason to suspect that *S* in this passage represents a revised text, so that here also the Diatessaron and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* originally differed.

Lk xviii 30 ('*Seven-fold*').

According to S. Mark those that have left their lands and their families for Christ's sake and the Gospel's shall receive *an hundredfold*. In S. Matthew most authorities have *an hundredfold*, but a few ancient texts (including B and Origen) have *manifold*. In S. Luke most texts have *manifold*, but *S* and *C* have *an hundredfold*, while D and the Old Latin with the Diatessaron (*Moesinger* 88) have *sevenfold*. Here again we may conjecture that the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron originally differed. But it is possible in this particular case that the text of *S* and *C* has been assimilated to S. Mark (or



S. Matthew). Certainly no authorities except *S* and *C* have *an hundredfold* in S. Luke, but it would be somewhat strange to find in our Syriac MSS examples of harmonistic corruption, not in agreement with the Diatessaron text, but contrary to it.

Lk xxii 43, 44 (*The Bloody Sweat*) and Lk xxiii 34 (*'Father, forgive them'*).

These famous interpolations have a place in the Diatessaron, but are not found in *S*. They are however found in *C*, so the case is not absolutely parallel to the omission of Matt xvi 2, 3. Yet there can be little doubt that *S* in omitting these passages preserves the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. The intrinsic interest of the two passages must generally have afforded a strong motive for their insertion wherever they were known, and as a matter of fact S. Ephraim shews his appreciation of them by repeated quotations and allusions. According to a correspondent of Photius 'some of the Syrians' omitted Lk xxii 43, 44; this is probably a reference to the asterisk in the margin of the Harelean version.

Joh v 3, 4 (*The Angel at the Pool*).

The well-known interpolation about the Angel troubling the waters is absent from *C*, and though a leaf is here missing from *S* it is evident from the space that the passage was absent from *S* also. But it must have had a place in the Syriac Diatessaron, for Ephraim says (*Moesinger* 146): 'If they believe that the Angel by the water of Shiloah was healing the sick, how much rather should they believe that the Lord of the Angels purifies by baptism from all stain?' It is only in the interpolated form of the story that there is any mention of an 'angel.'

Joh x 8 (*'those that came before me'*).

The words 'before me' in this saying of our Lord are omitted in many Greek MSS (headed by *Σ\**), in all Latin authorities except those mentioned below, in the Sahidic, and in *S* and syr.vg. They are found in many Greek MSS (headed by *B* and *D*), in Clement and Origen, in the Bohairic and the Armenian, in Ephraim's Commentary (*Moesinger* 200), in Faustus (ap. Aug), in Lucifer, in Jerome's own quotations, in the

Latin Vulgate MSS *gat* and *fos*, and in the MS of syr.vg called by Mr Gwilliam 36. It is tempting to add this passage to the rest where *S* and the Diatessaron differ in the underlying Greek. *Gat* is one of a group of 'mixed' Vulgate MSS whose readings sometimes agree curiously with the Diatessaron, the other members being the Sangermanensis (*g*) and the Tours MS called by Wordsworth *M*. On the other hand, the only direct evidence that the words 'before me' were contained in the Diatessaron comes from *Moesinger* 200, where the verse is quoted in verbal agreement with the Armenian vulgate. We cannot therefore be sure that the translator of Ephraim's Commentary was not adapting his text to that of his vernacular Bible. This explanation however does not account for the presence of the words in an isolated MS of the Peshitta: it is somewhat difficult to account for them there, unless they slipped in through a scribe's reminiscence of Tatian's Harmony.

*Differences between the Ev. da-Mepharreshe and the Diatessaron  
in rendering the Greek.*

We now give a few examples of noteworthy divergence between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron in rendering Greek words and phrases.

Matt v 4 (5) παρακληθήσονται.

'Happy is it for the mourners that they shall be *comforted*' (ܐܠܡܝܬܐ) is the rendering of *SC* and syr.vg, but Aphraates 41 in a string of allusions taken certainly from the Diatessaron<sup>1</sup> has 'He promised the mourners that they should be *entreated for*' (ܐܠܡܝܬܐ ܐܡܠܝܐ).

In Lk xvi 25 παρακαλείται is interpreted 'he is *besought*' by Aphraates 383 and Ephraim<sup>2</sup>, in accordance with the oldest Latin tradition, but *S* and syr.vg have 'he *taketh his ease*' (ܐܡܝܬܐ). But in Lk vi 24 we read both in *S* and in Aphraates 390 'Woe to you, rich, that ye have received your *supplication*,' where 'your supplication' (ܐܠܡܝܬܐ) is a rendering of τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 136.

Matt x 5 ἔθνων.

‘Go not in the way of the peoples’ (ܠܥܡܡ) is the rendering of *S*, but the Diatessaron (as attested by Aphraates 42)<sup>1</sup> has ‘Go not in the way of the pagans’ (ܠܥܡܡܐ), and this rendering is adopted by the Peshitta, although ܠܥܡܡ should represent ἔθνικῶν rather than ἔθνων.

Other instances of a similar nature, where the rendering of the Diatessaron has been adopted in syr.vg in preference to that of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, are

Matt v 16 καλὰ· ܠܥܡܡ *S* *C*, but ܠܥܡܡܐ Aphraates 14

Matt xxi 41 ἐκδώσεται· ܕܗܘ *S*, ܕܗܘ *C*, but ܕܗܘ Ephr. *Lamy* i 253

Mk xii 42 λεπτὰ δύο· ܡܐܬܬܐ ܦܝܬܐ *S*, but ܡܐܬܬܐ [ܦܝܬܐ] Ephr. *Nis.* 91<sup>36</sup>

Mk xii 42 κοδράντης· ܠܥܡܐܝ *S*, but ܠܥܡܐܝ Ephr. *Nis.* 91<sup>36</sup>

Lk vii 43 ὀρθῶς· ܝܥܝܝ *S* *C*, but ܕܡܠܟܐ Ephr. *Lamy* ii, p. xxii.

Mk ii 27 τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο.

The Sabbath was ‘created’ (ܕܡܝܬܕܝܠܐ), according to *S* and syr.vg; according to Ephraim’s Commentary (*Moes.* 62, 148) the word used was either a literal rendering of ἐγένετο or some word like ܕܡܝܬܕܝܠܐ. The text of *S* might naturally be put down as a quite permissibly free rendering of ἐγένετο, but ἐκτίσθη is actually found in 1-118\*-131-209 and in 700, and it is not very likely that these mss have been directly influenced by the Syriac versions. We ought perhaps therefore to include this instance under the category of those passages where the Diatessaron differed from the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in text as well as rendering.

Lk ii 14 εὐδοκία.

All Syriac authorities support εὐδοκία, but while *S* has the rare word ܠܗܝܠܐ ‘favour,’ the Diatessaron followed by the Peshitta has ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܝܥܐ ‘good hope.’

Lk iv 29 ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν.

As explained above, pp. 130, 183, the Diatessaron used words which implied that the people of Nazareth actually threw our Lord over the cliff. This is not supported by syr.vg, and *S* has ‘so that they

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 182.

might hang him.' The reading of *S* seems meant for ὥστε [κατα]κρεμάσαι αὐτόν, but as there is no trace of this elsewhere it is very likely nothing more than a translator's blunder. But be that as it may, the passage clearly illustrates the independence of the exegetical tradition of *S* and the Diatessaron.

Lk vi 28 τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς.

These words are translated in *S* by ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ 'that oppress you,' while the corresponding words in the Diatessaron as represented by Aphraates 34 (see above, p. 110) are ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ 'that use violence to you.' Neither of these renderings was adopted in syr.vg.

Lk xii 20 ἄφρων.

*S* and *C* have ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ 'lacking in mind'; the Diatessaron had ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ 'without heart' (i.e. 'without sense'): see above pp. 133, 157.

Lk xvii 21 ἐντὸς ὑμῶν.

This is translated 'among you' (ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ) in *S* and *C*, but the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 209, 211) has 'within your heart'.<sup>1</sup>

Joh xv 1 ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή.

As explained above, pp. 143 *f.*, 151, the Diatessaron rendered this phrase by 'the Vineyard of Truth,' but *S* and the Peshitta have 'the Vine of Truth.'

Lastly we must bring forward the most characteristic differences of all between the Diatessaron and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* as represented by *S*,—those, namely, that concern Joseph and Mary.

Tatian was an Encratite, who rejected marriage. It is therefore not surprising that 'he cut out the Genealogies and whatever other passages shew that the Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh,'<sup>2</sup> and that he made certain alterations in the wording of the story of the Nativity. It was well pointed out in Baethgen's *Evangelienfragmente* (pp. 93, 94) that these alterations are actually found in *C*; it is not too much to say that the agreements of *C* with Tatian in Matt i 18–25 were the strongest features in his argument for

<sup>1</sup> Here again the Peshitta agrees with neither rendering, having 'in the midst of you' (ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ).

<sup>2</sup> Theodoret, *Haer* i 20.



the dependance of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* upon the Diatessaron. But the text of *S* in these verses is animated by a wholly different tendency, which can best be exhibited by placing the readings of our two MSS side by side with the Diatessaron fragments.

*S*


18. Now the birth of  
the Messiah was thus :  
When Mar<sup>c</sup> his mother  
was betrothed to Joseph,  
before ever they drew near  
one to the other,  
she was found with child  
of the Holy Spirit.  
19. Now Joseph her husband<sup>a</sup>,  
because he was upright,  
was not willing  
to expose Mary....  
20. ... 'Joseph son of David,  
do not fear to take<sup>c</sup>  
Mary thy wife,  
for that which is being born  
from her  
is from the Holy Spirit.  
21. Now she will bear thee a  
son,  
and thou shalt call his name  
Jesus,  
for he shall save alive  
his people from its sins....'  
24. Now when Joseph  
arose from his sleep,  
he did as the angel of the  
LORD commanded him,  
and he took his wife  
25. and  
she bare him a son,  
and he called his name Jesus.

*C*

18. Now the birth of  
the Messiah was thus :  
When Mary his mother  
was betrothed to Joseph,  
before ever they drew near  
one to the other  
she was found with child  
of the Holy Spirit.  
19. Now Joseph,  
because he was an upright man<sup>b</sup>,  
was not willing  
to expose Mary....  
20. ... 'Joseph son of David,  
do not fear to take<sup>d</sup>  
Mary thy betrothed,  
for that which is being born  
from her  
is conceived from the Holy  
Spirit.  
21. Now she will bear thee a  
son,  
and his name shall be called  
Jesus,  
for he shall save alive  
the world from its sins....'  
24. Now when Joseph  
arose from his sleep,  
he did as the angel of the  
LORD commanded him,  
and he took Mary  
25. and purely was dwelling  
with her until  
she bare the son ;  
and she called his name Jesus.

*Moesinger*

(p. 20) The birth of  
Jesus Christ was thus :  
When his mother Mary  
was betrothed to Joseph,  
and before ever she was  
given to a husband,  
she was found with child  
of the Holy Spirit.  
(p. 22) Joseph,  
because he was an upright man,  
was not willing  
to expose Mary.  
  
(p. 23) 'Do not fear  
to take Mary.'  
  
(pp. 25, 26) He took her. ...  
... purely he was dwelling  
with her until  
she bare the first-born.

Some estimate of the value of the remarkable text of *S* for the criticism of the Greek text of this passage will be given in the Note on Matt i 16, 25, but the difference of spirit between it and that of the Diatessaron "springt in die Augen," as the Germans say. And that *S* and not *C* here represents the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* is clear from the first clause of v. 21 ('Now she will bear *thee* son'), the corresponding Greek being τέξεται δὲ υἱόν. It is inconceivable that the person who produced *C*'s text of v. 25 should have been the translator of this clause, but it is quite easy to see how a reviser altering a text like that of *S* into conformity with the Diatessaron should have left unnoticed and uncorrected the tell-tale  in v. 21.

So far therefore as this passage goes, the argument of Baethge as to the dependence of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* upon the Diatessaron is not confirmed by the text of *S*; on the contrary, it is seriously weakened, for it shews to what a great extent Syriac texts which were originally different in spirit and in wording have actually been harmonised.

The main object of this long catalogue of differences between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron has been to shew what great divergence in spirit, in rendering, and in the underlying Greek text, still exists in spite of all the natural tendencies to harmonisation. The last example from Matt i 18-25 shews the harmonisation in the act of being accomplished. It is true, and the fact has been insisted on by all the writers who have occupied themselves with these questions, that the agreements between the extant fragments of the Diatessaron and the text of *S* and *C* are too numerous and too intimate to be explained except by a common origin. But how far dare we say that the extant fragments of the Diatessaron truly represent the original text of Tatian's Harmony? If the earlier history of the Diatessaron at all resembled its later fortunes, it will have been continually suffering assimilation to the current Biblical text. The Syriac text from which Ciasca's Arabic was translated had been almost wholly corrected to the language of the Peshitta; Victor of Capua's Diatessaron has been almost wholly corrected to the language of the Vulgate. The quotations in Aphraates and Ephraim are the earliest form of the Syriac Diatessaron that we possess, and these quotations agree largely with the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. But what right have we

to assume that every reading in the codex used by Aphraates or S. Ephraim faithfully represents the uncorrupted text as Tatian left it?

These considerations all tend to shew that the Syriac Diatessaron and the 'Old Syriac' version of the Four Gospels were, to a much greater extent than is generally believed, independent works. And to that extent all arguments as to the date of the 'Old Syriac,' that are based on the supposed original resemblance in text between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron, fall to the ground. Yet it is hard to believe that the resemblances of rendering can all be made to disappear. He would be a bold man who would assert that both the Diatessaron and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* had not always rendered ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός by 'My Son and my Beloved,' or called the νιπτήρ in which our Lord washed the disciples' feet ܠܠܝܬܐ ܠܠܝܬܐ i.e. 'a λεκάνη for washing' (Joh xiii 5), or the ἐπιγραφὴ on the Cross ܠܠܝܬܐ, i.e. 'a πιττάκιον' (Lk xxiii 38). If these renderings be original, and the fulness of the evidence suggests that they are so, they cannot be accidental and the translator of the later text must have been acquainted with the earlier text.

*The Ev. da-Mepharreshe influenced by the O.T. Peshitta.*

The history of the text of the Old Testament in Syriac in its earlier stages is involved in obscurity. The Syriac Vulgate of the O.T., to which the name *Peshitta* properly belongs, is in the main a translation direct from the original Hebrew. It is clear that the translators had a good knowledge of the general meaning of the text and an excellent acquaintance with Jewish tradition. To such an extent is this the case that it seems impossible to avoid considering the Peshitta as the work of Jewish scholars: it will be enough here to refer to J. Perles's *Meletemata Peschitthoniana*. With this agrees the oldest Syriac tradition; according to Jacob of Edessa, the apostle Addai and the believing king Abgar sent to Jerusalem and to Palestine for men to translate the Old Testament from Hebrew into Syriac<sup>1</sup>. This is only another way of saying that the Church in Edessa at the earliest period

<sup>1</sup> R. Duval's *Littérature Syriaque*, p. 32.

of its existence took over from the Synagogue a vernacular rendering of the Old Testament.

The Peshitta as we have it now is this Jewish version, slightly revised from the Septuagint, especially in the Prophets. The revision was made long before the times of Aphraates and S. Ephraim, probably at the end of the 2nd century. But it did not alter the essential character of the version, and where the Peshitta differs from the Greek we may be fairly confident that it gives the text of the original translation from the Hebrew. In attempting to discover the date of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* it is therefore most important to ascertain whether that version of the Gospels shews any traces of the influence of the Old Testament in Syriac.

The answer must certainly be in the affirmative. In no other way can we explain the general acquaintance which the translator shews with the names and the phraseology of the Old Testament. This appears above all in the Genealogies, the portion of the text least influenced by the Diatessaron.

In the Genealogies the names are transliterated correctly into their Semitic form, an impossible task to one familiar with them only in their meagre Greek dress. It requires some acquaintance with the O.T. to know that Ναχὼρ in the genealogy given by S. Luke should be written ܢܚܘܐ, but Σαρὺχ should be ܫܪܝܫ, and Λάμεχ should be ܠܡܚ. Yet *S* gets these right, together with all the other puzzling names of the Patriarchs. In Matt i 5 he rightly transliterates Βοὲς and Ἰωβηδ by ܒܘܥ and ܝܘܒܐ<sup>1</sup>: if in Lk iii 32 we find the unbiblical names ܒܥܐ and ܕܒܐ, that is because the Greek here had βοοϰ and (doubtless) ἰωβηλ. And the accurate rendering of the Patriarchs' names is not due to extraordinary skill in recognising a Semitic name in Greek spelling, for in the names between David and Joseph that are otherwise unknown to history the Syriac transliterations do not always approve themselves: it is, at least, open to doubt whether ܡܠܝ (the father of Joseph) should be rendered ܡܠܝ as *S* gives it, and not ܡܠܝ or ܡܠܝ or ܡܠܝ.

But the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* does not merely give a scholarly representation of the names. In several cases it gives the specifically Syriac representation. Thus in Matt i 5 *Ruth* is spelt ܪܘܬ in *S* and

<sup>1</sup> *C*, supported by *A*<sup>a</sup>, has ܒܘܐ, a Syriac corruption, which shews however that the lists have not been revised.



A, ܕܐܠܝܐ in C, with the guttural after the 'r,' in accordance with the Syriac Old Testament, a spelling which is not suggested either by the Greek, which has 'Ρούθ', or by the Hebrew and the Targum, which have רות. Similarly ܐܠ, for Σαλμών, agrees with the Peshitta text of Ruth iv 20, 21, but not with the Hebrew or the Greek<sup>1</sup>.

The dependence of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* upon the Syriac Old Testament affords the explanation of another very curious circumstance, viz. that S and C are almost the only first-rate textual authorities that spell the names of king Asa and king Amon correctly<sup>2</sup>. The Evangelist spelt these names ܐܥܥܫ and ܐܡܡܘܥ, following the forms then current in Greek. 'Amos' is still current in the Greek O.T., but 'king Asaph' has been corrected to 'king Asa' through the influence of Origen's *Hexapla*: sufficient evidence however still remains to shew that 'Asaph' was once the prevailing spelling both in the Books of Kings and in Jeremiah. We may therefore safely infer that the Greek ms from which the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was translated had 'ΑΣάφ and 'Αμώς, not 'ΑΣά and 'Αμών, and that the reason why we find ܐܥܥܫ and ܐܡܡܘܥ in S and C is because the translator knew the true names of these Jewish kings from the Syriac Bible.

The influence of the Syriac Old Testament upon the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* is by no means confined to the Genealogies. The O.T. quotations which occur in S and C are of course in general, like the rest of the text, a translation from the Greek. But now and again S and C leave the Greek and agree with the Peshitta, even in places where it differs from the Hebrew and the LXX. A few instances are given below.

Matt iv 6 = Ps xci (xc) 12

'On their arms they shall bear thee up' S C.

This agrees exactly with the Peshitta in Ps xci 12 (ܐܡܡܘܢ ܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ), the Hebrew being על כפיה. But the Greek has ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρουσίν σε, and with this agrees Matt iv 6 syr.vg.

Curiously enough the parts are reversed in the parallel passage

<sup>1</sup> Another instance, outside the Genealogies, is ܐܡܫ for Zion, Matt xxi 5, Joh xii 15.

<sup>2</sup> ܐܥܥܫ is read in Matt i 7, 8 by ̅N̅BCD<sup>luc</sup> 1-209 543 700 k e g q sah boh aeth arm, by the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (3rd cent) and by the Genealogy in Ciasca's Arabic cod. A. ܐܡܡܘܥ is read in Matt i 10 by ̅N̅BCD<sup>luc</sup> al<sup>mult</sup> latt (exc a f vg) sah boh arm and by the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus.

Lk iv 11. There syr.vg has *on their arms* in agreement with the O.T. Peshitta, while *S* has *on their hands* in agreement with the Greek.

Matt x 25, xii 24, &c.

‘*Beelzebub.*’

In 2 Kings i 2 ff the Peshitta has ܒܥܝܠ ܕܒܝܬ ܕܝܠܐܝܡ *Bēʿelzēbōḏ* in agreement with the Hebrew בַּעַל יָבוֹב. But the Greek has Βεελζεβούλ, with λ at the end; so also has the Old Latin, and even the extant Armenian and Arabic texts of the Diatessaron. The Syriac versions and the Latin Vulgate stand alone in ending the word with the letter *b*. In the case of the Latin Vulgate this is certainly due to S. Jerome’s knowledge of the Old Testament in Hebrew; and similarly the Syriac N.T. shews an acquaintance with a translation made direct from the Hebrew, which can be none other than the Old Testament Peshitta itself.

Matt xiii 35 = Ps lxxviii (lxxvii) 2

‘*From of old*’ (ܐܬܝܬ ܡܢ ܡܢܝܢ) *S C.*

This agrees exactly with the Peshitta of Ps lxxviii 2, which is a translation of מִנִּי קֶדֶם. But the Greek of Matt xiii 35 is ἀπὸ καταβολῆς [κόσμου]. There can be little doubt here that the rendering adopted by the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* is derived immediately from the Syriac Old Testament.

Lk iii 4—6 = Isaiah xl 3—6

This long quotation is entirely assimilated to the Peshitta text of Isaiah in *S* and *C*. We may note especially the clause in v. 4,

ܐܬܝܬ ܡܢ ܡܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܬܪܝܡܐ ܕܥܠ ܬܪܝܡܐ

*And direct in the Plain paths for our God.*

This is word for word with Isai xl 3<sup>b</sup> in syr.vg. But the Greek N.T. has εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ, and neither in *S*. Luke nor the LXX is there anything to correspond with *in the Plain* (i.e. ܒܥܪܒܐ). We see therefore that the O.T. Peshitta influenced the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in *S*. Luke as well as in *S*. Matthew.

It follows, as an obvious corollary from these examples, that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is later than the translation of the O.T. from Hebrew into Syriac. The imperfect preservation of the Diatessaron in its earlier forms makes it practically impossible to discover to what extent it was influenced by the O.T. Peshitta, but as far as the evidence goes the tests which prove the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* to have been later than the Peshitta tend to break down when applied to the Diatessaron. In the first place, the Genealogies are missing; the lists found in the 23rd Homily of Aphraates cannot be ascribed to the original form of Tatian's Harmony in the face of the definite statement of Theodoret that the Genealogies had been left out. Then again the evidence, so far as it goes, suggests that the Diatessaron had *Beelzebul* with the Greek, not *Beelzebub* with the Syriac O.T. As for the quotations in the Gospel from the O.T., it happens that the phrases which supplied the clearest evidence in the case of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* are not preserved in our fragmentary authorities for the Diatessaron text; but Aphraates 330, when quoting Lk iii 6, ends the verse with

*And all flesh shall see the Life of God,*

i.e. we have a rendering of καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, while on the other hand *S* and *C* give us *And all flesh shall see it together, because the mouth of the Lord hath spoken*, in agreement with Isaiah xl 5<sup>1</sup>. In this quotation, therefore, the Diatessaron is much less influenced by the Syriac O.T. than the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. At the same time we must remember that the preceding clause in Aphraates' quotation agrees verbally with *S C* and the Syriac of Isai xl 4<sup>b</sup>. It is hard to believe that the text of *S C* and Aphraates, viz.

ܠܗܝܬܐ ܠܡܪܝܬܐ ܠܗܝܬܐ ܠܡܪܝܬܐ ܠܡܪܝܬܐ ܠܡܪܝܬܐ

*the rough shall become a level and the broken country a plain,*

can be an independent translation of ἔσται τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθείας καὶ αἱ τραχεῖαι εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας.

Thus the Diatessaron itself appears to be later than the translation of the O.T. into Syriac, but its text seems to have been less influenced

<sup>1</sup> The N.T. Peshitta of Lk iii 6 agrees with Aphraates (i.e. with the Diatessaron), but ܠܗܝܬܐ ܠܡܪܝܬܐ is changed into ܠܗܝܬܐ ܠܡܪܝܬܐ.

by the text of the Syriac Old Testament than was that of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

At the beginning of this chapter I confessed that the early history of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* belongs to the region of uncertainty and conjecture. In offering now a conjecture concerning the historical circumstances which gave birth to that version of the Gospels I am well aware of its precarious nature in the present state of our knowledge. At the same time I venture to think that the evidence is sufficient to enable us to make a guess, which may be useful at least as a working hypothesis.

First as to the *Diatessaron*. The Greek name that Tatian gave to his Harmony, the fact that he himself was a Greek author, and—most important of all—the existence of direct though degenerate descendants of the *Diatessaron* in the Codex Fuldensis and the mediæval Dutch Harmonies, all these things tell us that the Syriac *Diatessaron* is not an original work but a translation of a previously existing Greek Harmony. In the absence of evidence to the contrary there is, I consider, no reason why we should not accept Tatian as the author and compiler of this Greek Harmony and believe that he brought it with him when he finally returned to the East about AD 173. Doubtless it was very soon rendered into Syriac, probably under his immediate supervision.

This part of our hypothesis becomes all the more probable when we consider the number of Western readings—Western in the strict geographical sense—which belong to the *Diatessaron*, but are otherwise unattested except by Codex Bezae and Old Latin texts.

We come now to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The first introduction of the Four Gospels to a Christian community is surely a very great event in its history. This is especially the case in a community where a rival to the Four Gospels exists, even a friendly rival such as the *Diatessaron* was. Is there then any known event in the history of the Syriac-speaking Churches, which might seem to indicate a breach of continuity, an inauguration of a fresh order of things? At such a time we might look for changes in the vernacular Bible.

What do we know of the early history of the Syriac-speaking Church in its earliest seat, at Edessa? It has been well shewn—and here I must refer again once for all to the admirable work of the Abbé Tixeront,



called *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse*<sup>1</sup>—that what we know is the succession of the Bishops. That succession is

Addai

Aggai

Palût (*about 200 AD*).

'Abshelamâ

Barsamyâ (*about 250–60*)

.....

Conâ (*died 313*).

Between Barsamyâ and Conâ there is no real breach of continuity, but the names of the bishops are uncertain: the Abbé Tixeront (p. 152) gives some very plausible reasons for supposing that the names were Tiridates and Shalula.

The real break comes between Aggai and Palût. According to the tradition of the Church of Edessa, as embodied in the *Doctrine of Addai*, the evangelist Addai had been sent to Edessa by the apostle Judas Thomas, and Aggai was the disciple of Addai. But Palût was not ordained bishop by Aggai. The story goes that the persecution broke out so suddenly that Aggai was martyred before he was able to ordain his successor, so that Palût had to go for his consecration—to *Serapion of Antioch*. Thus suddenly we emerge from legend into the light of history.

Serapion was bishop of Antioch from 190 to 203 AD, and is known to us from Eusebius (*HE* vi 12) as the ecclesiastic who suppressed the Gospel of Peter in the neighbouring Church of Rhossus. There is absolutely no reason why the Edessene Church should have traced their succession to him, except that historical fact compelled them so to do, instead of giving the honour to their somewhat mythical founder Addai. Not that Addai and Aggai are altogether unhistorical, but the stories concerning them are obviously legendary in all their details, and

<sup>1</sup> See especially pp. 140 ff, 149, 151; also the *Acts of Barsamyâ* (in Cureton, ASD), p. 72. For a more extended attempt to fix the succession of the Edessene Bishops I venture to refer the reader to my book *Early Eastern Christianity* (S. Margaret's Lectures for 1904), especially pp. 17–36 and 75–78.

most modern scholars believe that Syriac tradition has placed them a century too early.

We have, therefore, as the history of the evangelisation of Mesopotamia a mission in the middle of the second century under Addai and Aggai, a mission which at first met with success, but later on was almost stamped out by persecution. Then comes the mission of Tatian in the last quarter of the second century, in which the Diatessaron makes its appearance. In a third period the organisation of the Catholic Church makes a fresh start under Palûṭ about the year 200 AD, and Palûṭ derived his commission from Serapion of Antioch, a prelate whom we know to have been especially active in promoting the ecclesiastical use of the Four Gospels. It is difficult to believe that the origin of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is unconnected with the policy of Serapion and the mission of Palûṭ.

If this theory be adopted, we must think of Palûṭ as a Christian of Edessa familiar with the wording of the Diatessaron, but trained by Serapion to disregard its authority. The agreements between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron are in the main agreements of language, in the choice of words and the style of translation; the differences between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron are differences in the underlying Greek text and in striking renderings of single phrases. In other words, the influence of the Diatessaron on the translator was the sort of influence that the English Authorised Version exercises on the work of an English scholar. It modifies the phrase and the cadence of a new translation, but does not as a rule affect the result in essentials.

Formerly I thought it a serious objection to this view that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, especially as represented by *S*, contains many 'better' readings than the Diatessaron. It has been argued above<sup>1</sup>, for instance, that *S*, which omits the 'last twelve verses of S. Mark,' presents an older form of the version than *C*, which retains them, because we cannot conceive of an adequate reason for their suppression. The Diatessaron contains these verses, together with many other 'Western Interpolations' which are absent from *S*; must not therefore *S* be the older?

The answer to this objection is that the two cases are not really

<sup>1</sup> See p. 194.

analogous. In the case of two MSS of the same translation of the canonical Gospels into Syriac, which nevertheless differ here and there in text, there is a very strong presumption that the text that has the critically 'better' readings is the more faithful representative of that translation. And this is especially true of the particular case of the retention or omission of [Mk] xvi 9-20, for it is easy to imagine motives for supplying what would seem a defect in the shorter text, while it is difficult to imagine motives for cutting these verses out when once they had been supplied. But the case is different when we compare a translation of the Four Gospels with a translation of Tatian's Harmony. Here there will be differences, intentional differences, from the very beginning. The fact that the translation of the Four Gospels should be made at all is in itself a proof that in the mind of the translator the Diatessaron was not of canonical authority. On every page, in every paragraph, there were omissions, for the Diatessaron is fuller than either of the Four Gospels taken singly. Moreover in the 'last twelve verses' of S. Mark we have not to do with a single section omitted in the middle of a familiar narrative. In the Diatessaron, as was natural, this section was divided up among passages taken from the other Gospels; and, as the substance of [Mk] xvi 9-20 is drawn from the other three Gospels (except the statement about Christ sitting at the right hand of God), it would require some attention from one who had never seen the so-called 'last twelve verses' to discover their presence in the Diatessaron<sup>1</sup>.

When once it is conceded that the Greek texts, upon which the Diatessaron and the 'Old Syriac' were respectively based, were themselves different and came from a different part of the Christian world, the excellence or inferiority of the readings attested by the two texts affords no guide to their chronological sequence.

According to the view here suggested, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in its original form gives in essentials a faithful representation of the text of the Four Gospels as received at Antioch about 200 AD. The wording of the translation has been often influenced by the renderings found in the Syriac translation of Tatian's Diatessaron, a work familiar

<sup>1</sup> There is nothing to suggest that early copies of the Diatessaron had, like Ciasca's Arabic, notes indicating from which Gospel the several passages were excerpted.

to the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*; to this cause also we may put down the many instances of minor harmonistic readings, so far as they have not been brought into our MSS by a similar tendency on the part of Syriac scribes.

The Greek text that underlies Tatian's Harmony is radically different from that attested by the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. It represents the Gospels as read in Rome in the third quarter of the second century. The fundamentally Western character of this text appears on every page, and it is only by what we may call a historical accident, viz. the personal history of Tatian himself, that it was ever found east of Italy. We know something of this type of text from Codex Bezae and its Latin allies, from Justin Martyr and from S. Irenaeus. There are probably few readings of the Diatessaron which are not otherwise represented in our *apparatus criticus*.

But from our ordinary sources of information we know next to nothing about the type of Greek text current at Antioch about the year 200. It is this that makes the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* so valuable to us. It is a textual witness from an otherwise unsurveyed part of the Christian world. All the more, therefore, is it necessary to use our MSS of this version with the most careful discrimination, and especially that we may avoid assigning to the Eastern text, which is the real characteristic of the Old Syriac version of the Four Gospels, Western readings which have been introduced into our MSS from the Western text of Tatian's Diatessaron. This discrimination will be the main object of the following chapter.

It is possible that the date assigned in the foregoing paragraphs to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is too late, and that the version may have originated in the epoch of the first mission, the times of Addai and of Aggai. The most probable form in which this view can be held is, I think, that brought forward by Dr Arthur Hjelt in his book *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron*.

Dr Hjelt regards the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as older than the Syriac Diatessaron, but he considers the several Gospels to have been the work of different translators, that of S. Matthew being the oldest and S. Luke the latest. The main support of his theory is that the same Greek words and phrases are often differently rendered in S



in the different Gospels. A number of instances are collected by Dr Hjelt on pp. 96–107 of his book, some of which are sufficiently striking, and to those who are prepared to regard a text practically identical with that of the Sinai Palimpsest as the earliest version of the Gospel in Syriac they certainly present a formidable appearance. Dr Hjelt does not, I venture to think, allow sufficiently for the difficulties of consistency. My own English translation of *S* and *C* is fairly consistent; but when I call to mind the numerous irregularities which slipped in, some of which were only corrected in proof and some of which, alas, still remain, I cannot wonder that irregularities of rendering are to be detected in the Syriac text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Moreover, some of the most curious irregularities are not conterminous with the several Gospels. How irregular, for instance, are the Syriac renderings of εὐθύς, εὐθέως! Or again, the rendering of Ἰησοῦς by ܝܫܘܐ our Lord, one of the most striking features of *S*, is not characteristic of the whole of Matt and Joh, but only of parts of these Gospels, and it also occurs in Lk viii 40<sup>1</sup>. We may also bring forward against Dr Hjelt's theory a number of very curious agreements between the text of the several Gospels in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, which seem to imply a common origin: one striking example is the rendering of ἐν στολαῖς by ܠܒܝܫܐ both in Mk xii 38 and Lk xx 46, as if it were ἐν στοαῖς.

It will not be necessary to examine Dr Hjelt's interesting lists in detail. If once we admit that the Diatessaron preceded the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, another explanation of the differences between the rendering of parallel passages lies at our disposal. It is simply this:—that in one passage the translator allowed himself to reproduce the already familiar text of the Diatessaron, in another he made his own new rendering from the Greek that lay before him. Dr Hjelt observes that the text of S. Matthew is more freely rendered in *S* than the text of S. Luke: the explanation is, that there are more undigested fragments of the Diatessaron text in the First Gospel than in the Third.

For instance Dr Hjelt notes (p. 103) that οἰνοπότης is rendered

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 85 ff., 97 ff., and the Note on ܐܘܪܝܬܐ Matt xiv 27 *S*. Note also that τέλος is ܠܡܐܬܐ in Matt xxiv 6, 14, and Mk iii 26, but ܠܡܐܬܐ Matt x 22, xxiv 13, xxvi 58, Mk xiii 7, 13, Lk xxi 9. In Matt xiii 39, 40, xxiv 3, συντέλεια is rendered by ܠܡܐܬܐ, but in Matt xiii 49 by ܠܡܐܬܐ.

by ܠܕܝܬ 'a drinker' in Matt xi 19 *SC*, but in Lk vii 34 *S* and *C* have ܠܕܝ 'a drunkard.' Here the evidence of Ephraim<sup>1</sup> makes it practically certain that ܠܕܝܬ was the rendering found in the Diatessaron. In S. Matthew, therefore, the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* adopted the rendering of Tatian's Harmony, while in S. Luke he chose to give a literal rendering. It is not necessary to assume in such passages that the text of both *S* and *C* have been subsequently assimilated to the Diatessaron, though this may frequently have occurred; but I am sure it is only in accordance with ordinary human nature, that a translator should sometimes follow previously existing renderings and sometimes translate for himself. It must of course be remembered that Dr Hjelt regards the original text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as older than the Diatessaron and therefore uninfluenced by any previous rendering of the Gospel into Syriac.

It is naturally impossible to know how long the translator of the 'Old Syriac' was occupied with his task: for aught we know it may have been the work of several seasons, and the translator's style may have slightly changed in the interval. But if it be granted that the Diatessaron preceded the 'Old Syriac' version of the Four Gospels and exercised a decided influence on the wording of the version, it does not appear to me necessary to suppose that it was the work of more than one translator or that the translator made use of more than one Greek exemplar. And that this translator was none other than Bishop Palût, the disciple of Serapion of Antioch, I now consider a probable surmise.

On the view here advocated, the view which dates the Syriac Diatessaron about 173 AD and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* about 200 AD, the earliest Church in Edessa under Addai and Aggai had no New Testament. For the first generation of Syriac-speaking Christians the Law and the Prophets sufficed. It is just this absence of an available text of the Four Gospels which explains the instant and continued success of the Diatessaron in Mesopotamia in contrast to its failure throughout the rest of the Christian world.

<sup>1</sup> *Lamy* ii 747 : see above, p. 118.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE TEXTS OF *S* AND OF *C*.

THE application of our ancient MSS to the correction or the confirmation of the Greek text of the Gospels is the ultimate aim for which they are studied, but before the readings of such MSS as *S* or *C* can be profitably so applied many preliminary questions have to be settled. In the previous chapters a sketch of the history of the version to which *S* and *C* belong has been attempted: we have now to consider how far *S* and *C* preserve the original form of that version. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, as it left the translator's hands, may have been a fairly faithful representative of the Greek text current at Antioch about 200 AD; but the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, as known to us, consists of the text of *S* and of *C*. If these MSS represent the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as revised at some later period from the Greek, we cannot use them with confidence as evidence for the text current at Antioch at the end of the second century.

The need of some such investigation is all the more pressing, because of the frequent serious divergences between *S* and *C*. The most obvious explanation of these divergences is, of course, the Syriac Diatessaron, and doubtless in most instances it is the true explanation. But we must not always assume that, where *S* and *C* differ, the reading which is not that of the Diatessaron is the original 'Old Syriac.' It is possible that in any given case the original 'Old Syriac' may have agreed with the Diatessaron, and that *S* or *C* may have been revised at a later period to agree with a Greek MS.

We may take as an example Joh iv 25, where the Greek has οἶδα ὅτι Μεσσίας ἔρχεται, ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός· ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν ἅπαντα. I give the Syriac texts in parallel columns:

*S*

ܠܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܝܐ  
 ܡܬܢ ܕܐܬܝܐ  
 ܕܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ

*Lo, the Messiah cometh;  
 and what time he hath come,  
 everything he will give.*

*C*

ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ  
 ܡܬܢ ܕܐܬܝܐ  
 ܕܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ

*I know that the Messiah cometh;  
 and what time he hath come,  
 he shall explain to us everything.*

The Diatessaron (*Moes.* 141) has: "Lo, Christ cometh; and when he shall come, everything he will give us." Thus the remarkable paraphrase found in *S* is practically identical with the text of the Diatessaron, while *C* follows the Greek. It should further be noticed that syr.vg. which of course agrees with the Greek, has ܡܠܬܐ 'teacheth' where *C* has ܡܕܝܢܐ 'explaineth.' The text of *C* is therefore certainly not derived from syr.vg: indeed I may say that I know of no instance where the text of either *S* or *C* has been assimilated to the Peshitta. The Peshitta often agrees with *S* or *C*, but in such cases we may be sure that the text is older than Rabbula.

If it were only asked which is the original rendering of Joh iv 25 into Syriac, the answer is easy: without doubt the bold paraphrase attested by *S* and the Diatessaron is more primitive than the literal version found in *C*. But it is not so easy to decide which is the original reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Assuming that the paraphrase really belongs to Tatian's Harmony there are two possible explanations of what we find in *S* and *C*. We may suppose that *C* gives the translation made by Palût (if it be he) about 200 AD, while *S* has been assimilated by some later scribe to the familiar text of the Diatessaron; or we may suppose that Palût was content to accept the Diatessaron rendering in this verse as adequate, and that what he wrote has been faithfully preserved in *S*, but that *C* represents the work of a later reviser who has brought the text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* into closer agreement with the Greek.

In the particular instance of Joh iv 25 I incline to think that the first alternative is correct, that *C* gives the original rendering of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and that *S* has been altered to agree with the Diatessaron. But this is not always the case,



and the two alternatives that I have put forward challenge the judgement on almost every page of our MSS. It is therefore necessary to ask whether *S* or *C* shews any signs of revision from Greek MSS later than that used as the basis of the translation itself.

Out of this part of the inquiry *S* emerges with flying colours. There are very few instances where *S* shews a text which seems to have been mended from the Greek. In other words, the text of *S* is almost always either that of the original *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or that of the Diatessaron, with the exception of a few simple blunders of transcription such as no MS, ancient or modern, is entirely free from.

It is quite otherwise with *C*. There are readings in *C* that cannot be explained from the Diatessaron at all. Foremost among them is the occurrence of [Mk] xvi 9—20: these verses were present in the Greek text underlying the Diatessaron, but they could not be reconstructed from the Diatessaron itself<sup>1</sup>. Equally convincing is the occurrence in *C* of *some*, but not *all*, of the greater 'Western Interpolations.' These Interpolations may be defined as the substantial additions to the Gospel story which are found in Codex Bezae (D) and the 'African' Latin, but are absent from Codex Vaticanus (B). They appear to form a single series, probably derived from a glossed edition of the Four Gospels issued somewhere in the West about the middle of the 2nd century. The exact limits of the series are of course impossible to ascertain, but the twelve readings given below certainly form part of it, and that the most important.

Two facts about the distribution of the 'Western Interpolations' come out with unmistakeable clearness from this tabular arrangement. We see in the first place that the 'Old Syriac,' as represented by *S*, is entirely free from them; and secondly, that it is the 'African' Latin which has incorporated the largest number. Had Codex Bezae (D) survived complete, I think it not unlikely that it would have contained the whole series. The Diatessaron, as might have been expected from a text essentially Western in origin, contains a large number of the Western additions to the canonical text. *C*, on the other hand, occupies a middle position. The fact that it omits the additions to Matt xvi 2, 3, and to Joh v 3, 4, which are otherwise attested by nearly the whole mass of 'Western' evidence, is enough to shew that

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 209.

In the following Tables the critical symbol for a ms indicates that the ms in question contains such and such a reading; 'om.' indicates that it omits the reading; '—' indicates that it is not extant.

*The Greater Interpolations.*

<i>Authorities quoted.....</i>	D	lat.afr $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} k \\ (c) e \end{array} \right\}$	lat.eur $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} a \\ (or\ n) \end{array} \right\} b$	syr.vt $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} Tatian \\ C \\ S \end{array} \right\}$	'Received Text,'
1. Matt iii 15 <i>fin.</i> (The Light at the Baptism)	om.	—	a om.	Tat om. om.	om.
2. Matt xvi 2 <sup>b</sup> , 3 ("The Face of the Sky")	D	—	a b	Tat om. om.	s
3. Matt xx 28 <i>fin.</i> ("Seek from little to increase")	D	—	a b	C [om.]	om.
4. Mk xvi 3 <i>fin.</i> (The Light at the Resurrection)	om.	k —	— [om. n] —	[om.] — om.	om.
5. Lk vi 5 (The Man working on the Sabbath)	D	—	om.	— —	om.
6. Lk ix 55 ("Ye know not what spirit ye are of...")	(D)	—	Cypr e a b	C om.	(s)
7. Lk xxii 43, 44 (The bloody Sweat)	D	—	a b	Tat C om.	s
8. Lk xxiii 2, 5 ("Loosing the Law...our sons & wives...")	om.	—	c e om. (b)	om. om.	om.
9. Lk xxiii 34 <sup>a</sup> ("Father, forgive them")	om.	—	c e om.	Tat C om.	s
10. Lk xxiii 53 (The great Stone)	D	—	c om.	om. om.	om.
11. Joh v 4 (The Angel at the Pool)	(om.)	—	Tert e a b	Tat om. [om.]	s
12. Joh vii 53—viii 11 (The Woman taken in Adultery)	D	—	e om. b*	om. om. om.	(s)

The text of *e* is predominantly 'African,' but it shows many traces of later revision, especially about Lk xxiii. On the other hand *c* presents a particularly good text at the end of Lk, only slightly interpolated from the Vulgate. I have therefore added the readings of *c* in Lk xxii, xxiii.

the series of Interpolations forms no part of the ground-text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The members of the series which are actually found in *C* must therefore have been brought in from some other source, and from their very nature it is difficult to believe that the source can have been in every case the Diatessaron itself. The episode of the bloody Sweat may certainly have come from the Diatessaron, although even in that case it is remarkable that the interpolation should have been made in S. Luke's Gospel. But it is very difficult to believe that 'Father, forgive them,' was inserted in *C* just before Lk xxiii 34<sup>b</sup>, exactly at the place where the words are inserted in Greek mss, if we are to suppose that the interpolator took them from the Diatessaron. For according to the Arabic Harmony (lii 6, 7), apparently supported by S. Ephraim's *Commentary*, the saying 'Father, forgive them,' was assigned by Tatian to our Lord's last moments, whereas in the mss of the Gospels the saying is always placed at the moment of crucifixion.

We learn therefore from a consideration of the 'Western Interpolations' that *C* has been revised from a Greek MS, and that this MS contained some at least of the more common Western additions to the text, besides the 'Longer Conclusion' to S. Mark. That such mss were to be found in the East from the 4th century onwards is certain. It was, for instance, just such a MS that Thomas of Harkel used for the emendation of the Philoxenian version of the Acts, and just such a MS must have been used to correct the immediate ancestor of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae (B).

The argument from textual criticism is, I venture to think, the strongest proof that *C* has been revised from the Greek. But a couple of instances where theories of textual criticism are not involved may be brought forward to strengthen the argument.

Matt v 18

ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μία κεραία...

For these words we find in *S*

ܠܐ ܝܕܥܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ...

*One Yôd-letter.*

This is a complete, though not an absolutely literal translation of





for all the features of *S* and *C* in the above passage, but the general impression I have formed is that *S* represents the original rendering of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, a rendering based on a defective Greek text; *C*, on the other hand, is a doublet, and the unnatural order of the words placed above between brackets is due to the reviser, who translated the verse afresh on the margin of his Syriac ms. But in the process of transcription 'in truth' has fallen out between 'in spirit and' and 'to worship.'

The remarkable omissions in *S* do not stand alone. There is little doubt that the ordinary text of Joh iv 23, 24, is in essentials the true text, but the repetition of τοὺς προσκυνούντας αὐτὸν seems to have given great trouble to scribes in early times, and a mutilated form of the verse must once have been widely current. The following variants are actually found

<sup>23</sup> ἀλλὰ ἐρχεται ὥρα καὶ νῦν ἐστίν, ὅτε οἱ ἀληθινοὶ προσκυνῆται  
προσκυνησ ὡσιν τῷ πατρὶ ἐν πνὶ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ. <sup>a</sup>καὶ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ  
τοιούτους ζητεῖ <sup>b</sup>τούς προσκυνούντας αὐτὸν<sup>a</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>24</sup>πνᾶ ὁ θς καὶ<sup>b</sup> τοὺς  
προσκυνούντας αὐτὸν ἐν πνὶ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ <sup>d</sup>δεῖ προσκυνεῖν<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a...a</sup> om. 1-118-209 22

<sup>b...b</sup> om. G 69 229 131 *ept\**

<sup>c</sup> + ἐν πνὶ 124\* *a b ruskw*

<sup>d...d</sup> προσκυνεῖν δεῖ **N**\*D *a pp<sup>lat</sup>* (syr. *C*)

om. προσκυνεῖν *e*

om. προσκυνεῖν δεῖ 131 *g*

Of these authorities *g* is the Cod. Sangermanensis, which has occasional remarkable affinities with the Diatessaron. The authorities which add ἐν πνὶ at the end of v. 23 imply a text that omitted the first part of v. 24, like G 69 and 131.

It would be a grave omission if I failed to quote here the remarkable judgement passed on *C* by Dr Hort a dozen years before the Sinai Palimpsest was brought to light. He said (*Introduction*, § 118): "The character of the fundamental text confirms the great antiquity of the version in its original form; while many readings suggest that, like the Latin version, it degenerated by transcription and perhaps also by irregular revision." It is not often that pronouncements of this kind are so signally sustained by later discoveries.

*S C and the Diatessaron.*

The irregular revision to which an ancestor of *C* has been subjected has had the effect of making *C* itself more commonplace. Unfortunately it is impossible to detach the work of the reviser from the rest of the text of *C* by applying any stylistic test. For the most part the additions and alterations are themselves small in bulk and the general usage of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is well maintained in the choice of words. In some of the longer insertions, such as that at the end of Matt xx 28, it seems probable that the wording is to a great extent taken from Tatian's Harmony. The reviser's justification for inserting the passage in the ancestor of *C* at that particular place may have been that it was so inserted in a Greek MS used for purposes of revision; but the general cadence of the words was already familiar to him from the Diatessaron, so that he naturally adopted the style of the Syriac Bible. To such an extent is this the case, that at the end he finishes off the interpolation with 'and thou shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests'—the very words of Lk xiv 10, though the Greek on the authority of which the passage was inserted doubtless read *καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρήσιμον*, as in Codex Bezae.

The use of the Diatessaron does not appear in the fragment of [Mk] xvi 9–20 which is preserved in *C*; in fact, the Peshitta text of these verses is much more closely than that of *C* allied to the Diatessaron<sup>1</sup>. This fact in itself supplies a proof that *C* has been to some extent revised from a Greek MS later than the original translation. Nevertheless it is exceedingly probable that in the great majority of cases where *S* and *C* differ, the cause of variation is not that one or other MS has been altered from the original reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in order to make it agree with some Greek MS of the Four Gospels, but in order to make it agree with the Syriac Diatessaron. In such cases of variation between *S* and *C*, the reading that does *not* agree with the Diatessaron is the original reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. In other words, the reading that does not agree with the Diatessaron is that which represents the Greek text current at Antioch about 200 AD.

<sup>1</sup> See the Note on the passage.

It will be useful to give some instances in illustration. In Lk xi 2-4 *S* has the short form of the Lord's Prayer, beginning with ܠܟܝܢ instead of ܠܟܝܢ ܘܠܟܝܢ ܠܟܝܢ, and ending without 'Deliver us from the Evil One': it differs in language from the Peshitta, notably in the rendering of ἐπιούσιον. *C*, on the other hand, has these two clauses and has ܠܟܝܢ ܠܟܝܢ instead of ܠܟܝܢ ܠܟܝܢ, as in *S*. Matthew. Here I suppose every one would acknowledge that *S* preserves the original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and that *C* gives us a text partially assimilated to the Diatessaron.

Again, *S* preserves a very peculiar recasting of Lk xi 35, 36, which is otherwise only known from the inferior Old Latin mss *f q*, but *C* assimilates the text to Matt vi 23, as do also Codex Bezae and the leading mss of the Old Latin.

But besides this class of variation, in which the singularity of *S* affords us an unmistakeable indication that it has preserved the true text of the 'Old Syriac,' there is another important class in which assimilation to the Diatessaron has produced the opposite result. The Diatessaron, as has been pointed out in the previous Chapter, pp. 191 ff., was based on a 'Western' text, Western in the geographical as well as in the textual sense; moreover, a translation of a Gospel Harmony offers more scope for variation of every kind than a translation of the Four Gospels. Speaking generally, therefore, the text of the Syriac Diatessaron differs more widely than that of the genuine text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* from the renderings found in the Peshitta, notwithstanding the fact that here and there the Peshitta (like other late texts) has adopted Western readings found in the Diatessaron but absent from the Greek text that underlies the 'Old Syriac.' There are many places throughout the Gospels where the 'Old Syriac' and the Peshitta agree together against the Diatessaron; in such cases, if *C* has been assimilated to the Diatessaron, we get *S* in agreement with the Syriac Vulgate, while *C* and Tatian agree in a variant, which is perhaps further supported by a quotation in Aphraates or Ephraim. These passages demand special notice, because we may be at first sight tempted to regard them as passages where *S* has been assimilated to the Peshitta, though I believe there is no real justification for this view. For example, in Lk xxiii 43 ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ is rendered ܠܟܝܢ ܠܟܝܢ 'in Paradise' by *S* and the Peshitta; but *C*, together with

Aphraates (twice), Ephraim (twice) and also in the Diatessaron Commentary (*Moesinger* 244), have ܐܕܢ ܗܕܢܐ 'in the Garden of Eden.' Here we have two originally independent translations from the Greek. It is clear that 'Garden of Eden' belongs to the Diatessaron, but there is no reason why we should not assign 'Paradise' to the original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. On this hypothesis we must assume that the text of *C* has here been assimilated to the Diatessaron.

In Lk xix 44 the same explanation also holds good. In this verse 'the time of thy visitation' (τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου) is properly rendered ܐܕܢ ܗܕܢܐ by *S* and the Peshitta<sup>1</sup>. But *C* and Aphraates have ܐܕܢ ܗܕܢܐ, i.e. 'of thy greatness.' A translation so singular as this is certainly very old, and the circumstance that it is attested by Aphraates makes it highly probable that it really belongs to the Diatessaron. But there is no necessity to suppose that it really belongs also to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in its original form, and the agreement between *C* and Aphraates is completely accounted for when we regard *C* as having been assimilated here also to the Diatessaron<sup>2</sup>.

Another good instance of a picturesque expression in *C* that has probably been introduced from the Diatessaron is to be found in Lk viii 31; in fact, these readings (though perhaps more frequent in *S*. Luke than in the other Gospels) may be picked out from almost every chapter. In not a few cases *S* has been assimilated to the Diatessaron, while *C* has preserved the true text of the Old Syriac intact: an example from Joh iv 25 was quoted above, p. 214. There may, of course, be cases in which both *S* and *C* have been independently assimilated to the Diatessaron, and such cases would be very difficult to detect, but the great differences between *S* and *C*, coupled with their frequent agreement against the Diatessaron, make it improbable that they have suffered the same corruptions to any great extent. Where *S* and *C* agree we may be confident that we have the original text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, the earliest translation of the Four separate Gospels into Syriac; where *S* and *C* agree together with

<sup>1</sup> Spelt in *S* ܐܕܢ ܗܕܢܐ.

<sup>2</sup> For an attempt to explain the use of ܐܕܢ ܗܕܢܐ in this phrase, see the Note on Lk xix 44.



the Diatessaron, we must believe that the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was content to adopt the rendering of the Diatessaron into his Syriac text of the Four Gospels<sup>1</sup>.

*The textual affinities of the Old Syriac version.*

We have now to attempt to discover the textual affinities of the Old Syriac; that is, to find out which of our Greek MSS agree with the Greek MS from which the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was translated. The problem before us is a little different from that which confronts the investigator who is studying such a late document as one of the 'Ferrar-Group,' or even the common origin of the 'Ferrar-Group,'—to name but one problem out of many. When we study a comparatively late document, we may feel sure it contains many late features, and our aim is to isolate its ancient 'Western' or 'Alexandrian' elements. But the Greek MS that underlies the Old Syriac would be, if it were in our hands, a primary authority. If it were possible to retranslate the Old Syriac into the Greek that it really represents we should be able to estimate the amount of divergence it presents from the great Uncials or the texts constructed by modern critical editors. Retranslation, however, is a very dangerous proceeding. It sometimes happens that a Greek variation cannot be represented in a foreign language, and on the other hand the Syriac idiom sometimes introduces variety where no Greek variant ever existed. Or again, there are cases where the Syriac might represent either of two rival readings in the Greek. Under these circumstances grave doubt must always hang over conjectural restorations of the Greek text represented by the Old Syriac, except where the Old Syriac is in literal agreement with some MS or group of MSS with which it habitually keeps company. To give the most obvious illustration, in Matt i 16 the evidence of the Ferrar Group and the Old Latin makes it certain that the text of the Old Syriac represents the clause  $\phi$  *μνηστεύθῃσα* [*ἡν*] *παρθένος Μαρίας* (or  $\phi$  *ἐμνηστεύθη*), and that it

<sup>1</sup> An exception may perhaps be made in the case of the story of the Last Supper according to S. Luke. It is possible that there both *S* and *C* represent independent mixtures of the true text of S. Luke with the narrative of the Diatessaron.

is not a mere paraphrase of the *τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας* of the ordinary text; on the other hand, in the absence of subsidiary attestation, we cannot be quite sure that the doubled 'Joseph' stood in the Greek text from which the Old Syriac was translated, still less that it read *τὸν Ἰωσήφ· Ἰωσήφ δέ, ᾧ κ.τ.λ.*

The following lists of various readings have been drawn up to help in finding out which documents contain an early-Antiochian element, i.e. a text akin to the Old Syriac. It has simply been compiled from Tischendorf and other obvious sources, but I have not inserted readings where the apparent agreement between *S* or *C* and some other text might reasonably be regarded as the result of accident. No attempt has been made to evaluate the differences between *S* (or *C*) and such mss as 565 or the Latins: the aim of the list is to establish points of contact, not to estimate the amount of early-Antiochian matter in the various late and mixed texts. The agreement of *S* or *C* with the Peshitta, the Armenian, the Ethiopic, or the later Syriac texts, is to be regarded merely as evidence of the influence of the 'Old Syriac' on these Oriental versions. But it is not yet proved that the 'Old Syriac' ever had any reflex action upon Greek mss. The agreement of *S* or *C*, therefore, with 28 or 565 or with the 'Ferrar Group' may still be generally considered as indicating that the Greek ms in question has preserved an ancient reading which existed in the ms from which the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was translated.

The Notation is that of Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf. In all cases where only *S* or only *C* is quoted on either side of a variant, it may be presumed that the ms which is passed over is not extant at that point.

#### CLASS I.

##### *SC and the Antiochian text.*

The text called 'Syrian' and 'Antiochian' by Westcott and Hort, of which the so-called Received Text is a very fair representative, has but little affinity with the Old Syriac Version. This is best shewn by the absence from *S* and *C* of the characteristic conflate readings, but the fundamental separation between the Old Syriac

and the 'Syrian' Greek text is evident on every page of the Gospels. There must have been a great break of continuity between the earlier and the later Greek texts current at Antioch, a breach which may have begun with the deposition of Paul of Samosata in 274 AD. The Old Syriac often represents a different exegetical tradition from that of the later Antiochenes: for example, in the punctuation of Joh v 27, 28, *C* agrees with Paul of Samosata and the ancient tradition generally, while Chrysostom joins *ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν* (v. 27) with *μὴ θαυμάζετε τοῦτο* (v. 28), and in this he is followed by the Peshitta and even by the Armenian vulgate.

In a few cases, some of them of considerable importance, the Old Syriac does agree with the later Greek mss against the early Western and Alexandrian evidence. Thus in Lk ii 14 *S* reads *εὐδοκία*, not *εὐδοκίας* (as in *SB* and *D* latt); and in Lk xiv 15 *SC*, in company with the great mass of later Greek mss, give *ἄριστον* instead of *ἄρτον*<sup>1</sup>. Readings such as these have no greater and no less claim on our attention than singular or subsingular readings of the Old Syriac: the extra attestation given to them by the late Greek mss only tells us that in these particular cases the leading eclectic text of the end of the 4th century adopted a reading current in the East in preference to that favoured by the Western texts or the Origenian tradition.

In nearly all these cases of combination between the Old Syriac and the later Greek texts the reading so attested is clearly wrong. It is pretty certain, for instance, that S. Luke wrote "Blessed is he that shall eat *bread* in the kingdom of God," and not "*breakfast*." Almost the only instance where a good case can be made out for accepting the Oriental against the combined Western and Alexandrian tradition is the reading *ἀναβοήσας*, instead of *ἀναβάς*, in Mk xv 8. And here the Western texts are not quite unanimous, for the word is passed over altogether in *k*.

<sup>1</sup> Note that Clem<sup>166</sup> reads *ἄρτον* not *ἄριστον* (Barnard's *Biblical Text of Clement*, p. 48).

## CLASS II.

*SC and the NB-text.*

The Old Syriac has some striking agreements with the two great 4th century Bibles **N** and B, the texts of which form the basis of Westcott and Hort's edition. A glance at the Table printed above, p. 216, shews that *S* omits all, and *C* more than half, of the 'Greater Interpolations,' which have been recognised as such and consequently removed from the text by critical editors on the authority of **N** and B. Nor is this coincidence between *SC* and **NB** confined to the rejection of a few extensive and easily recognisable passages. All through the Gospels *S*, and to a certain extent *C* also, agrees with **NB** in omitting words and clauses found in most extant documents. Sometimes these authorities stand almost alone in their omissions, sometimes they are supported by a number of other texts.

The question therefore arises whether there may not be some special connexion between **NB** and *S*, which would deprive their agreement of special significance. Put in a more concrete form, is there any reason for supposing that the Sinai Palimpsest omits the 'Western Interpolations,' because they had been excised from its ancestor in order to make it agree with the recension of Origen and Eusebius? The answer to this must be, I am sure, in the negative, quite independently of any theory of the genesis of the **NB**-text. Besides the difficulty of explaining the omissions attested by *C* if the text of *S* had been produced by excision, this hypothesis does not account for the clauses which actually form part of the text of *S* though they are absent from **N** and B. Instances may be found in Matt iv 10, v 22, x 23, xx 16, xxv 1, Mk x 24, xiii 8, Lk xx 34, xxiii 48, Joh iii 6, xi 39, xii 12, xx 16, and elsewhere. It is immaterial here to discuss whether these words and phrases are genuine or not: they are absent from the **NB**-text, and a hand that would have cut out from *S* the so-called 'last twelve verses' of S. Mark on the authority of the 'Eusebian tradition'—to use the well-known question-begging phrases—would not have been likely to leave all these passages standing.

Apart from the omitted passages there is not a very close affinity



between the Old Syriac and **SB**. What we may call the Origenian text does not get much support from *S* or *C*. Neither ἡπόρει in Mk vi 20, nor τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείποντος in Lk xxiii 45, nor μονογενὴς θεός in Joh i 18, is attested by the Old Syriac. It is of course natural that two such ancient lines of transmission as the text underlying **SB** and the text underlying the Old Syriac should often coincide; but the only kind of agreement between documents that shews community of origin is community in error, and of this there is to the best of my belief very little. The faults of *S* are not the faults of **SB**, and the reader need only go over any list of alleged *monstra* drawn up by opponents of the **SB**-text to see how few of them are shared by *S* or *C*. Other instances of characteristic readings of B or **SB** not supported by *S* are to be found in Matt vi 8, xi 19, xxvii 49; Mk iii 14, 16, vi 22, xiii 33; Lk ii 14, x 41, 42, xiv 5, xv 21, xvi 12, xxi 24; Joh ix 4, x 22.

But if the lines of transmission now represented by **SB** on the one hand and *SC* on the other be practically independent, their occasional agreement becomes of the greatest weight. Thus in Lk iv 44 the agreement of *S* with **SB** and others (including the group 1&c.) makes it certain that S. Luke wrote 'Judaea' and not 'Galilee<sup>1</sup>.' And I venture to think that the force of the agreement of these two groups is very little weakened if either **S** or B deserts its companions to join the mass of ordinary codices. Thus *S* supports B all through the complicated series of variations in S. Mark about the double cock-crowing, which was chosen by Dr Hort (*Introd.* § 323) to illustrate the unique character of the Vatican ms. In Lk viii 43 and xi 11 B and *S* join in omitting words which are undoubtedly interpolations though found in most mss: in the former passage ἰατροῖς προσαναλώσασα ὅλον τὸν βίον is a mere adaptation of Mk v 26 and in the latter the words about the Bread and the Stone belong to Matt vii 9 only. It may be remarked in passing that both in Lk viii 43 and in xi 11 *C* follows the harmonistic reading of the mass of later documents, perhaps under the influence of the Diatessaron, while B is supported by the Sahidic and *S* by the Armenian. Other notable places where B and the Old Syriac go together are the 'many stadia' of Matt xiv 24 and the 'Seventy-two' disciples of Lk x 1.

The passages where the Old Syriac sides with **S** against B are

<sup>1</sup> See the *Note* on Lk iv 44.

fewer in number. Instances are *μηδένα* (for *μηδέν*) in Lk vi 35, and 'the *Chosen* of God' (instead of 'the *Son* of God') in Joh i 34. In Joh viii 57 *S* reads with *Σ* and the Sahidic *ἑώρακέ(ν) σε*, where most documents, including the Diatessaron, read *ἑώρακας*. Here B\* halts between the two variants and reads *εωρακεc*.

### *The Western 'Non-Interpolations.'*

A few words must here be said about the passages called by Westcott and Hort 'Western Non-Interpolations.' These are certain passages contained in B and for the most part in *Σ*, but passed over by D and the Old Latin: the passages are regarded by Westcott and Hort as no part of the original text and accordingly are placed by them between double brackets ([ [ ] ]). A few other passages somewhat similarly attested are placed by Westcott and Hort between ordinary square brackets.

The consideration of these passages is necessary, because our estimate of the value of the Old Syriac as an independent witness for textual purposes depends largely upon the view we take of them. If these passages be really interpolations wrongly inserted into the text of the Gospels, then all the documents that contain them have at least in part a common origin—they have, in fact, been at least influenced by a common interpolated recension. We have therefore to ascertain to what extent these passages are attested by the Old Syriac, and to examine how far Westcott and Hort are right in treating them practically as a single series by giving them a common name.

The following List of the 'Western Non-Interpolations' has been compiled from Hort's *Introduction* §§ 240 and 383.

The Table below tells us at the first glance that the Old Syriac is divided upon the question of the Western Non-Interpolations, and this alone is enough to shew that the 27 readings here cited are not homogeneous. They cannot be all the result of one critical process, whether we decide in favour of retention or omission. There are, it must be remembered, two questions of textual criticism before us, which should be kept distinct. The question with which we are more immediately concerned is the relation of *S* and *C* to the *ΣB*-text; this

question is indeed intimately connected with the question of the origin and propagation of the 'Western Non-Interpolations,' but it is not identical with it. Even if we accept the view that certain passages (such as Luke xxiv 12) are interpolations, it may be that they were

Authorities quoted.....	B	Σ	S	Syr. vt		Omitted by D lat. vt except as stated below
				C	S	
1. Matt vi 15 [τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν]	B	om.	S	C	—	b
2. Matt vi 25 [ἡ τί πίηγε]	B	om.	S	om.	—	
3. Matt ix 34 [οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι...δαιμόνια.]	B	Σ	S	—	om.	b
4. Matt xiii 33 [ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς]	B	Σ	S	om.	om.	(e, a) b
5. Matt xxi 44 [καὶ ὁ πεσὼν...λικμήσει αὐτόν.]	B	Σ	S	C	om.	
6. Matt xxiii 26 [καὶ τῆς παροψίδος]	(B)	Σ	S	—	om.	
7. Matt xxvii 49 <i>fin.</i> [ἢ + ἄλλος δὲ...αἷμα.]	B	Σ	om.	—	om.	
8. Mark ii 22 [ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς]	B	Σ	S	—	S	e
9. Mark x 2 [προσελθόντες Φαρισαῖοι]	B	Σ	S	—	om.	
10. Mark xiv 39 [τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπὼν]	B	Σ	S	—	S	
11. Luke v 39 [Οὐδεὶς.....χρηστός ἐστιν.]	B	Σ	S	—	—	
12. Luke x 41 <i>f</i> [μεριμνᾷς.....ἡ ἑνός.]	B	Σ	(S)	(C)	om.	(D)
13. Luke xii 19 [κείμενα.....φάγε, πίε]	B	Σ	S	C	S	
14. Luke xii 21 [Οὕτως.....εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν.]	B	Σ	S	C	S	e
15. Luke xii 39 [ἐγρηγόρησεν ἂν καὶ]	B	om.	S	om.	om.	
16. Luke xxii 19 <sup>b</sup> , 20 [τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν...ἐκχυννόμενον.]	B	Σ	S	(C)	(S)	(e, b)
17. Luke xxii 62 [καὶ.....ἐκλαυσεν πικρῶς.]	B	Σ	S	C	S	D
18. Luke xxiv 3 [τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ]	B	Σ	S	(C)	(S)	
19. Luke xxiv 6 [οὐκ ἐστὶν ὧδε, ἀλλὰ ἠγέρθη.]	B	Σ	S	C	S	
20. Luke xxiv 9 [ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημερίου]	B	Σ	S	C	S	
21. Luke xxiv 12 [Ὁ δὲ Πέτρος.....τὸ γεγονός.]	B	Σ	S	C	S	
22. Luke xxiv 36 [καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν.]	B	Σ	S	C	S	
23. Luke xxiv 40 [καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν.....πόδας.]	B	Σ	S	om.	om.	
24. Luke xxiv 52 [καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν]	B	om.	S	—	(om.)	
25. Luke xxiv 53 [προσκυνήσαντες αὐτόν]	B	Σ	S	—	om.	
26. Joh iii 31, 32 [ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστὶν & τοῦτο]	B	om.	S	om.	(S)	
27. Joh iv 9 [οὐ γάρ.....Σαμαρείταις.]	B	om.	S	C	(S)	

inserted so generally and at so early a period in the texts current East of the Adriatic that their presence in S and C as well as in ΣB proves little as to any special connexion between the Caesarean Library and the Old Syriac Version. It should therefore be pointed out at once that in Nos. 7 and 12, the two cases where Σ and B are not backed up

by the mass of later Greek texts, no support is given to the reading of **SB** by the Old Syriac. In Lk x 41 *f* (the answer of Jesus to Martha) *S* agrees with the Latins in omitting the disputed words, while *C* has been revised to agree with the *Textus Receptus*, and not with **SB**. In Matt xxvii 49 the Syriac joins with the Latin and the *Textus Receptus* in rejecting the notorious interpolation from Joh xix 34 found in **SB** and a few other authorities. This interpolation is a true peculiarity of the **SB**-text, and documents which contain it have either been emended from the **SB**-text or contain an emended form of the **SB**-text. Its absence from *S* goes some way to clear that *ms* from any suspicion that it has been revised, at least to any considerable extent, by means of *mss* akin to **SB**<sup>1</sup>.

The divergence between the Old Syriac and the **SB**-text is by no means confined to these two passages. In about half of the whole twenty-seven 'Interpolations' the Old Syriac is on the side of omission, sometimes, as in the case of Luke xxiv 40 (No. 23), against the whole mass of extant Greek *mss* except Codex Bezae. In other cases, such as Luke xxiv 3, 52 (Nos. 18 and 24), the Old Syriac has an interpolated text, but the interpolation or alteration differs from the **SB**-text: here, therefore, the Old Syriac manifests its independence of the **SB**-text as much as in the passages where it supports simple omission of the disputed words. Among these we must reckon No. 16 (the account of the Last Supper in S. Luke): at this point both *S* and *C* have been harmonised to agree with the other Gospels, perhaps under the influence of the Diatessaron, but certainly not by way of assimilation to what is found in **S** and **B** and the 'Received Text.'

It must not be forgotten also that it remains an open question whether all the twenty-seven readings are really interpolations. Interpolation is not the only fault of Western texts, and there is little doubt that Western editors sometimes omitted what they did not like or understand. Thus in Lk xii 19 (No. 13) I have very little doubt that the words retained by **SB** and the Old Syriac are genuine, and

<sup>1</sup> Another characteristic interpolation, which is absent from *S* and *C* as well as the Old Latin, is to be found in Lk xv 21, where 'Make me one of thy hired servants' is added from *v.* 19 by *D* as well as by **SB**. The addition of 'And no man gave to him' in Lk xvi 21, an interpolation similar in character, is found in Aphraates, the 'Ferrar Group' and some late Latin texts, but not in *S* or **SB**. *C* is missing here and in Matt xxvii 49.



that the cause of the omission was failure to understand how a 'soul' (*anima*) could 'eat' or 'drink.' I venture to think that the Old Syriac is quite right in retaining the disputed words in Lk xii 19, 21 (Nos. 13 and 14), and also in Mark xiv 39 (No. 10). In the latter passage τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἰπὼν introduces a petty verbal discrepancy with Matt xxvi 42, and by retaining these words in Mk *S* shews at this point notable independence of the influence of the Diatessaron<sup>1</sup>. Somewhat similar is Mk ii 22 (No. 8), where the short form of the saying without a verb, found in *SB*, is probably genuine. Here *S* has been assimilated to Matt ix 17, as is natural and proper in a translation<sup>2</sup>. To these passages I would provisionally add Lk v 39 (No. 11). Neither *S* nor *C* is here extant, but it is quite as likely that the verse was omitted because of its difficulty and its absence from the parallel passages, as that it is the interpolation of a later hand.

Nevertheless, when all allowances have been made, there still remain some passages at the end of S. Luke where *S* and *C* join with *SB* in supporting additions to the text, which cannot be regarded as genuine. It is very difficult to suppose that Lk xxiv 12 (the visit of Peter to the empty grave) is a genuine portion of the Third Gospel. Accidental omission of the verse is highly improbable, and it is impossible to conceive why it should have been intentionally cut out. On the other hand, *v.* 24 might seem to call for some explanation, and the narrative in Joh xx 3—10 supplied materials for the insertion. The wording of *S* and *C* in the verse differs from the Peshitta, so that their text cannot have been derived from that source, nor can it have come direct from the Diatessaron, for in a Harmony the verse is naturally swallowed up into the fuller narrative from S. John. The verse therefore, as we read it in *S* and *C*, must come directly from the Greek. At the same time the wording differs in one important point from that of the general usage of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, for Πέτρος is here rendered *Simon* and not *Kepha* as in the rest of S. Luke (see Chap. II, p. 96). This marked difference of usage makes it conceivable that we are here dealing with an interpolation in the Old Syriac which has invaded *S* as well as *C*.

The result is of the greatest importance for our estimate of *S*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf Diat<sup>ar</sup> xlviiii 13.

<sup>2</sup> The English Revised Version has done the same.

What has happened in one place may have happened in several. It has probably happened in Lk xxiv 6 also, and the hypothesis of interpolation is the simplest explanation of the text of *S* in Lk xxii 62 and xxiv 36. But there is nothing to lead us to believe that this element in *S* is of any great extent. Probably it is confined to a few well-marked readings which became familiar to Syriac scribes through revised texts such as that of *C*, and so ultimately invaded even purer types of text like *S*.

That some of these widely spread interpolations were foisted into the text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is evident from Matt xxi 44 (No. 5), which is read by *C*, but omitted by *S*, and from Lk x 41*f* (No. 12), where as has been already remarked *C* has the longer reading in the form in which it appears in the majority of Greek mss, and not in the form characteristic of **SB**. The general results, therefore, of a consideration of the readings called by Westcott and Hort 'Western Non-Interpolations' are: (1) that the Old Syriac, like the Old Latin, was free from these extraneous additions to the text; (2) that in a few cases the Syriac evidence helps us to revise the list furnished by Westcott and Hort by establishing the genuineness of some readings omitted on Western evidence only; (3) that some of the 'Western Non-Interpolations' which were originally passed over by the Old Syriac are now found in *C*, and in a few cases even in *S*; (4) that these insertions in our Old Syriac mss appear to have been ultimately based on Greek mss nearer akin to the *Textus Receptus* than to the type represented by **SB** and *B*.

In the above discussion no notice has been taken of the two readings from S. John. In Joh iii 31, 32, *C* supports the shorter text, while *S* is said to contain part of the longer reading. The photograph is nearly illegible at the decisive point and I am of opinion that the text of *S* has not been correctly represented in this edition<sup>1</sup>. The case of Joh iv 9 will be dealt with below among the independent readings of the Old Syriac version.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i, p. 434.

*Later elements in  $\aleph$  and B.*

Before leaving the  $\aleph$ B-text it may be well to ask how far it is homogeneous. The question is not out of place even in a discussion upon the value of a Syriac Version. No one can compare the text of *S* with that of Westcott and Hort without noticing that *S* is much more strongly 'Western' in S. Matthew than in S. Luke. The critic's first impulse, in the case of a new document like *S*, is to suspect that the two Gospels were translated into Syriac by different hands, perhaps at different times, or that S. Luke has suffered revision while S. Matthew has escaped. But it is only fair to ask whether the standard of comparison itself be homogeneous. The text of Westcott and Hort is practically the text of  $\aleph$ B. The Old Syriac sometimes supports the true text of the  $\aleph$ B family, where  $\aleph$  singly or B singly deserts the family to side with a later variation: is it not therefore possible, and indeed likely, that in some instances  $\aleph$  and B may both have deserted the reading which they ought to have followed, and that they and not *S* are inconsistent?

That  $\aleph$  and B occasionally are inconsistent with themselves appears certain in several places. Carefully as B is written, now and again it presents an ungrammatical reading, which proves on examination to be a fragment of the rival variant. Thus in Matt xxiii 26 most Greek documents read καθάρισον πρῶτον τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος, ἵνα γένηται καὶ τὸ ἐκτὸς αὐτῶν καθαρόν. Here καὶ τῆς παροψίδος is omitted by D 1&c 700 *a e*, as well as by syr.vt, all these authorities reading αὐτοῦ instead of αὐτῶν. But in B\*, together with E\* 13&c 28 157 al<sup>20</sup> Bas 1½, we find καὶ τῆς παροψίδος supplied, while αὐτοῦ is left standing. It is not necessary to suppose that all the mss that support B\* here represent a common tradition: it was easy to supply 'the platter' from the preceding verse. But the presence of αὐτοῦ in B\*, coupled with the occurrence of the shorter reading in the Old Syriac, leads me to claim it as really characteristic of the  $\aleph$ B-text as well as the various 'Western' texts. The presence of αὐτοῦ in B is exactly analogous to the use of *Simon* by *S* and *C* in Lk xxiv 12: the irregular reading shews us in each case that our ms is not giving us the true text of the family to which it belongs.

Other instances from B of the same kind are the employment of ὕστερος (instead of ἔσχατος) in Matt xxi 31, the presence of the article before Βαραββάν in Matt xxvii 17<sup>1</sup>, and the reading πάντων instead of πασῶν in Lk xix 37. In all these instances B presents us with what is evidently a doctored text. We are able in a few cases to detect the patch by an imperfection in the joining, where the words added or taken away involve by their presence or absence a consequential change in the text. But in many cases of the insertion of words no further change is caused in the body of the text, and we have no means of knowing how often B has suffered in this way. An obvious instance in point, the insertion of οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον in Lk xi 33, is noticed below.

### CLASS III.

#### *SC and Western texts.*

By 'Western texts' I mean here the texts which are properly called Western as belonging geographically to the West of the Adriatic—in other words Codex Bezae (D), the texts of the Old Latin version and the Latin Fathers. The frequent agreement between the Old Syriac and these Western texts had been a subject of comment ever since Cureton's publication of *C*, but it was not until the investigations of Zahn and Bähgen upon Tatian's Diatessaron that any steps were made towards a rational explanation. A careful and independent examination of the textual phenomena has brought me round to the view first enunciated in 1885 by Bähgen in his *Evangelienfragmente* and supported since 1895 by Zahn<sup>2</sup>, viz. that the Diatessaron was the earliest form of the Gospel in Syriac, earlier therefore than the Old Syriac, and that the translator of the Old Syriac, which on this view dates from about 200 AD, knew the Diatessaron and adapted its language to a very considerable extent<sup>3</sup>. The Diatessaron itself was made in Rome, or at least was the work of one who had lived there many years; it is not surprising therefore to find that the text of the Diatessaron is predominantly Western. And when it is acknowledged that much of the text of the Old Syriac is direct adaptation of the

<sup>1</sup> See the Note on the passage.

<sup>2</sup> *Theol. Litteraturblatt* 1895, ii 17—21.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 208 ff.



Diatessaron an easy explanation of the origin of the Western element at once offers itself: the Western readings do not necessarily represent the text of the Four Gospels as read in Antioch about 170, but the text of the Diatessaron; and the text of the Diatessaron in turn represents the Four Gospels as read in Rome about 170 AD. In such passages, and they are very many, we cannot take the agreement of East and West as instantly decisive. It is almost safer to regard the Eastern text in these passages as non-existent, and to treat the Old Syriac evidence as one element in a group belonging to the West. The Western reading may be purer than the Alexandrian reading in any given case, but where *S* and *C* give us the Diatessaron text the independent consensus of East and West disappears; what is left is group against group, not two very early groups against one.

It is a pity that we know so little of the continuous text of the Diatessaron. At every turn we find ourselves confronted with reasonable suspicion that the special features of an Old Syriac reading may be due to the influence of the Diatessaron, while at the same time we are without direct information as to the reading of the Diatessaron in the passage in question. In giving examples of the definitely Western element in the Old Syriac I have therefore divided the lists into three classes: in the first class are given some striking agreements of the Old Syriac with Western texts against the Diatessaron, in the second class agreements of the Old Syriac with Western texts including the Diatessaron, and in the third a selection of passages where the reading of the Diatessaron is not definitely known.

*Agreements of S or C with Western texts against the Diatessaron.*

Matt i 18 τοῦ δὲ χριστοῦ] *S C=d (hiat D) latt.omn*

τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ *Moes. 20 = Gr.rel (incl. the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus)*, but *B* has τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

The phrase used in Moesinger does not agree with the Armenian Vulgate. It is possible that the text of the Diatessaron was assimilated by Tatian to Matt i 1: the personal name 'Jesus' is almost necessary when the narrative of Matt i 18 ff. is placed immediately following the first chapter of S. Luke instead of after a genealogy such as Matt i 2-17. At the same time it is quite

possible that the text of *S* and *C* was here not derived from the West at all, for the reading of *B* suggests that a text agreeing with the Latins was current in early times in the East also.

Matt iii 17 σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου] *SC* = *D* α *Iren*<sup>gr</sup> (*hiat k*)

οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου *Moes.* 99 &c = Gr.rel.

For a further discussion of this important variation, see the Note on the passage.

Matt xviii 20 'For there are not two or three gathered together in my name, that I am not in the midst of' *S* = *D* (*g*) (*Clem* 541)

The ordinary text is supported by *C* *Aphr* 69 and all other authorities: it appears to be implied in *Moes.* 165. Whatever be the origin of this curious reading, it does not seem to have come into *S* through the Diatessaron.

Lk xx 34 'The sons of this world beget and are begotten, and take wives and become the wives of men' *SC*. This agrees with α *Iren* 168 and *Clem* 551 (103, 230). *D* and some Latin MSS have 'are begotten and beget,' the best Latin (incl. *Cyp* <sup>2</sup>/<sub>2</sub> and *ce*) omitting 'marry and are given in marriage.' Most documents omit 'beget and are begotten.'

It is not easy to ascertain the exact text of the Diatessaron at this point, but it appears that it did not contain the clause *beget and are begotten*. According to *Moes.* 194 the reply of our Lord begins "Much do ye err, for the sons of the times of this world take wives, etc." According to *Aphraates* 167, a quotation which seems to represent a text of the Diatessaron, the reply begins "Much do ye err, and ye know not the Scriptures nor the power of God. For they that are worthy of that world..." i.e. Matt xxii 29 followed by Lk xx 35, omitting *v.* 34 altogether. Thus neither text has *beget and are begotten*, so that the presence of this so-called 'Western' reading in *S* and *C* cannot be due to the influence of Tatian's Harmony.

Joh x 8 'all that came'] *S* (*followed by syr.vg*) = **8**\* al<sup>100</sup> lat.vt-vg  
+ 'before me' *Moes.* 200 = **BDAN**<sup>c</sup> al<sup>70</sup> *fos gat* *Lucif*<sup>194</sup> *Faust*<sup>ap.</sup> *Aug*  
*Hieron* <sup>4</sup>/<sub>4</sub>

I quote this passage mainly for the remarkable distribution of reading. Is it conceivable that the gloss is really due to Tatian himself? See above, p. 195.

Joh xi 25 'I am the Resurrection']  $S = \alpha^* (?) l^* \text{Cyp } 310$   
 + 'and the Life' *Moes.* 202 = Gr.rel Lat.rel

In this striking variant  $S$  agrees with Cyprian against the Diatessaron and practically all other texts.

Besides these passages, where the Diatessaron is definitely ranged on the opposite side to  $S$ , there are some others where the Diatessaron from its very nature cannot have served as the channel of connexion between  $S$  and the Western text.

Matt viii 5 (*before* προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ἑκατοντάρχης)

(α) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  $S = k$

(β) εἰσελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς Καφarnaούμ  $\aleph \text{BC} \& c \text{ lat.vg syr.vg}$

(γ) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰσελθ. αὐ. εἰς Καφ.  $C = \text{lat.eur}$  (*hiat D*)

The words 'when he entered into Capernaum' would naturally have a place in the Diatessaron, because they stand in all authorities as part of Lk vii 1. Thus the omission of these words in  $S$  and  $k$  cannot be due to the Diatessaron, though it may be the source from which the words were inserted in  $C$ . I have a strong suspicion that (α) is the true reading in Matt, while (β) is an early harmonistic variant and (γ) is a conflation of (α) and (β). The fact that μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα is not elsewhere used by the compiler of the First Gospel is not necessarily fatal to this view, as it may possibly have stood in the source from which Matt and Lk drew the story of the Centurion<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Besides, there is a special reason for μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα here. It may be, so to speak, the voice of the compiler of Matt expressing his belief that his new arrangement of the story of the Leper is satisfactory. A comparison of Matt vii, viii, with the parallel in Lk vi, vii, leaves little doubt that the story of the Centurion followed in the common source immediately after the great Sermon. The story of the Leper, on the other hand, comes in Mk i 40 ff, after the healing of Peter's wife's mother; its new place in Matt viii 2-4 is certainly due to the compiler, not to his source. We should naturally have assigned the mention of Capernaum to the common source of Matt and Lk but for its omission by  $S$  and  $k$ . It is also omitted by  $e$  in Joh iv 46. Possibly therefore the place was not indicated in the source and the connexion of the story with Capernaum may be due to S. Luke's own information or conjecture.

Matt xxi 44 (Whosoever shall fall on this stone, &c)] *om.* *S=D* 33  
*a b e ff* Orig

The verse is read by *C* with **SB** &c.

The Diatessaron (*Moes.* 193) retains the verse, as was almost inevitable in a Harmony, but there is nothing to shew that it is not merely the equivalent of Lk xx 18.

Joh xii 8 (For the poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always)] *om.* *S=D*

All other authorities have the verse. It doubtless stood also in the Diatessaron, but as the equivalent to Mk xiv 7 = Matt xxvi 11. Here again it is difficult not to believe that *S* and *D* have preserved the true reading: the sudden verbal agreement of Joh xii 8 with the Synoptic Gospels occurring in the midst of so much real difference is suspicious, and it is better to regard the verse as an interpolation, so far as the Fourth Gospel is concerned.

*Agreements of S or C with Western texts including the Diatessaron.*

Matt ix 34 ('But the Pharisees said: By the Prince of the devils,...')

This verse is omitted by *S* with *D a k*, and it is passed over in *Diat*<sup>ar</sup> xii 41, 42.

Matt xi 5 *καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται*] *om.* *S=k* and Clem. 151. In *C* the clauses are transposed: 'the deaf hear and the poor are sustained<sup>1</sup> and the dead arise.'

In *Moes.* 100 we read "The Lord began from those things that seem more easy...*The blind see and the lame walk and the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear*, and in the end as the seal of all he said this: *The dead arise.*" This is followed almost immediately by a quotation of Matt xi 6. It is evident that the Diatessaron agrees here with *S*, and that *C* represents an attempt to replace the missing clause.

Internal evidence is very strongly in favour of the omission of *καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται*. The verb *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* is not found in Matt outside this passage; on the other hand, it is one

<sup>1</sup> *C* has *ⲉⲩⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛ* (*sic*): see the Note on Matt xi 5.



of the favourite words of Luke and actually occurs in Lk xvi 16 with the same passive use as here. Probably therefore its introduction into this context is due to the evangelist: 'the dead arise' in the reply of our Lord to S. John's messengers has no doubt the same significance as 'raise the dead' in Matt x 8. In other words, the true text of the First Gospel, as preserved in *S* and the Diatessaron, supported by *k* and Clement, gives us the words of Jesus; 'the poor have the Gospel preached to them' is S. Luke's *interpretation* of the words, an interpretation which we may safely accept.

The text of the Diatessaron as preserved in *Moes.* 100 is also notable in that it adopts one of two parallel accounts instead of combining them. Similar instances are to be found in Diat iv 44 (*Moes.* 44) where there is no mention of the 40 nights, Lk iv 2 being preferred to Matt iv 2; also in Diat xxix 9 (*Moes.* 88) the *seven-fold* of the Western text of Lk xviii 30 is preferred to the *hundred-fold* of Mk x 30 or the *manifold* of some texts of Matt xix 29 and Lk xviii 30. In the last instance (Lk xviii 30) *S* and *C* have 'an hundred-fold': we must therefore refrain from ascribing all the harmonistic readings in the Old Syriac to Tatian's influence, while at the same time we must not assume that the Diatessaron always combined the variations of the Gospels instead of selecting between them.

Matt xxi 31 ὁ ἔσχατος *S*=*D* lat.vt, i.e. the Pharisees say that the son who said he would go into the vineyard, and did not go, obeyed his father<sup>1</sup>.

The Diatessaron (*Moes.* 191) supports ὁ ἔσχατος, but there is room to believe that Tatian transposed the order of the two sons, as in B 13&c and the Armenian, whereby the sense is the same as that of the ordinary text with ὁ πρῶτος, which is supported also by *C*. If this be really the case the agreement of *S* and the early Western text is independent of the Diatessaron, but in view of

<sup>1</sup> This reading is also implied by Iren 280 *ad fin*, who says: 'alter quidem contradixit patri et postea poenitetur quando nihil profuit ei poenitentia, alter autem pollicitus est statim promittens patri non abiit autem, quoniam omnis homo mendax et uelle quidem in promptu adiacet non inuenit autem perficere.'

the doubt I have inserted the passage here and not above on p. 236<sup>1</sup>.

Matt xxvi 73 καὶ γὰρ ἡ λαλιά σου ὁμοιάζει *S*=*D* latt, and also Diat<sup>ar</sup> xlix 12. Most documents, including syr.vg, have δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ for ὁμοιάζει. The words καὶ ἡ λαλιά σου ὁμοιάζει are added at the end of Mk xiv 70 by most late texts, including syr.vg, but they are omitted by *S* with the best Greek and Latin authorities.

Mk viii 31, 32. For ἐλάλει, *S* reads λαλεῖν (or possibly ἐκλαλεῖν) with *k* and Diat<sup>ar</sup> xxiii 42, so that the announcement of the Passion runs *He had begun to teach them that the Son of man was about to suffer much...and they will kill Him and the third day He will rise and openly speak the word.*

As this striking reading had a place in the Diatessaron—for all the readings of the Arabic Diatessaron that do not agree verbally with the Peshitta are doubtless genuine survivals of Tatian's Harmony—we must not claim the agreement of *S* and *k* in its favour as an independent consensus of East and West<sup>2</sup>. At the same time there are very few, if any, traces of the influence of the Diatessaron in the African Latin, so that the reading represents a very early strain of the Western text, and there is much to be said in its favour from internal evidence.

Mk ix 3 (*after* 'and his garments became glistening exceeding white')

(α) 'so as no fuller on earth can whiten them' *SB 1&c al<sup>p</sup>*  
*d k arm*

(β) 'as snow' *S=X a n*

(γ) 'as snow, so as no fuller on earth can whiten them'  
*Gr.rel. Lat.rel*

*D<sup>gr</sup>* and syr.vg practically agree with (γ), but substitute *no one*

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worth while pointing out that no MS except B has ὕστερος for ἔσχατος. Ephraim's words (*Moes.* 191) are: 'How,' saith he, 'seemeth this to you? A certain man had two sons.' And that he called them 'sons' was that he might stimulate them to his work. 'Yea,' saith he, 'Lord!' He called him 'Son,' and he called him 'Lord,' instead of calling him 'Father' and accomplishing his word. 'Which of them did the will of his father?' And they decided rightly and say 'The second.'

<sup>2</sup> In the *Journ. of Th. Studies* ii 112 and *Enc. Biblica* 4992 I fear that I emphasised the mere agreement of East and West too strongly in discussing the passage.

for *no fuller*. There can be little doubt that (α) is the true text: the naive simile in Mark provoked alteration from the time of the first and third Evangelists down to the fourth century. The introduction of 'as snow,' which is also inserted in Lk ix 29 by *e* and *C* (not *S*), may possibly have been due to Tatian. According to Diat<sup>ar</sup> xxiv 4 he wrote "His raiment became [exceeding] white as snow and as the brightness of lightning, so that nothing on earth can become so white." As this does not agree verbally with the Peshitta, it may very well represent the true Diatessaron.

Mk xvi 3, 4. The clause ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα is placed in most documents, including *k*, at the end of xvi 4, so that it is a remark of the Evangelist. In *S*, with D 565 lat.vt (exc. *k*) Eus and Diat<sup>ar</sup> lii 47—49, the clause is put at the end of the women's speech, and ἔρχονται καὶ εὐρίσκουσιν ἀποκεκλισμένον τὸν λίθον is read instead of ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦσιν ὅτι ἀνακεκύλισται ὁ λίθος. Thus we get

NB etc.

...they were saying one to another, 'Who will roll away for us the stone from the door of the tomb?'

And looking up they see that the stone is rolled away, for it was very great.

[*I.e., it was so large that they could see its position at some distance.*]

Diat<sup>ar</sup> lii 47—49.

...they were saying one to another, 'Who will roll away for us the stone from the door of the tomb, for it was very great?' [*And WHILE THEY SPAKE THUS, there was a great earthquake, and an angel descended from heaven and came and rolled away the stone from the door.*] And they came and found the stone rolled away [*FROM THE TOMB, and the angel sitting on the stone.*]

The words in italics come from Matt xxviii 1, 2. The words in small capitals appear to be connecting links added by the harmonist.

Were it not for the accessory attestation, we might be tempted to conjecture that the transposition was due to the harmonist himself. But *k*, which does not transpose the clauses, also attests ἔρχονται and

ἀποκεκυλισμένον τὸν λίθον, and the *Gospel of Peter* also puts μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ λίθος into the women's speech—in fact, it is put into their mouths before they start for the tomb. The reading of *S* and the Diatessaron was therefore very widely spread in one form or another. Yet it can hardly be original. The text of *S. Mark*, indeed, at this point invites change. It is easy to miss the meaning of ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα, though such a remark is exactly in the style of the man who wrote ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν σύκων (*Mk xi 13*). Still more unsatisfying to the taste of the 2nd century was the absence of a 'sign from heaven' on the Resurrection morning. It is here that *k* brings in a sudden darkness and the descent of angels from heaven. A similar prodigy is related in the *Gospel of Peter*, and we have seen that Tatian joined these verses from *Mk* with the appearance of the angel in *Matt xxviii 1—3*. In fact, the wording of *Matt xxviii* shews a similar treatment of the sober narrative of *S. Mark*.

May we not conjecture that the interpolation in *Mk xvi 3*, now found only in *k*, was once far more widely spread? On this view the text represented by *D 565 lat.eur* and the Diatessaron represents a revised text *from which the apocryphal addition has been cut out*. The transposition of the clauses and the obliteration of ἀναβλέψασαι would then be regarded as scars arising from imperfect surgery.

In any case we may feel safe in saying that *S* is here dependent on the Diatessaron: either the ancestor of *S* had been assimilated to the Diatessaron by transcribers, or more probably the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was himself here influenced by the familiar wording of Tatian's *Harmony*.

*Agreements of S or C with Western texts, where the reading  
of the Diatessaron is not known.*

*Matt v 11* ψευδόμενοι] *om.* *S* = *D lat.vt*; *C* has the word, with *Gr.rel*.

*Lk x 41, 42.* *S*, with *lat.vt*, has only *Martha, Martha, Mary has chosen for herself the good part that shall not be taken from her.*

Here *C* in *v. 41* has been corrected to agree with the received text, but no γὰρ is added in *v. 42*. *D* has θορυβάζει added after the second Μάρθα.



Lk xi 35, 36. D and all the best Old Latin mss simply substitute the parallel passage Matt vi 23<sup>b</sup> for these somewhat obscure verses. S and C both have Lk xi 35 ('see lest the light that is in thee be darkened'), but in C this is followed by Matt vi 23<sup>b</sup> (omitting v. 36). S, on the other hand, has the same curious recasting of the verse which is attested by *f* and *q*, Latin mss that usually present quite commonplace readings. This grouping is most peculiar; in fact, it can hardly be accounted for, except on the supposition that *f* and *q* here preserve the true Old Latin rendering and that D *a b c ff i r* have been assimilated by later transcribers to the more familiar wording of Matt. For details, see the Note on the passage.

Lk xi 53, 54. Both S and C give support to the Western text of this passage, C agreeing exactly with Codex Bezae (which we may conjecture here to represent the Greek text underlying the Diatessaron). But S omits *ἵνα εὐρωσιν κατηγορηῆσαι αὐτοῦ*, probably because there was nothing corresponding to these words in the Greek ms from which the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was mainly rendered, i.e. it agreed with **8B** and the text adopted by Westcott and Hort.

Lk xiv 5. *υἱὸς ἡ βοῦς* B (and most Gk mss) *efq* sah syr.vg; *ὄνος ἡ βοῦς* **8L** 1&c 33 al<sup>p</sup> lat.eur-vg arm; *πρόβατον ἡ βοῦς* D.

Here S and aeth have 'his ox or his ass'; C has 'his son or his ox or his ass.'

Lk xvii 11 'through the midst of Samaria and Galilee'] + 'and Jericho' lat.vt. C, but not S, has an addition which may be translated 'and Jericho' or 'to Jericho.' Diat<sup>ar</sup> omits the half-verse. For the linguistic details see the Note on the passage.

Joh viii 34 'He that doeth sin is a slave of sin'] so most documents; D b Clem<sup>410</sup> Cyp<sup>274</sup> and S omit 'of sin.' This interesting reading is now further attested in Latin by the so-called *Tractatus Origenis*, pp. 25, 94.

It will be noticed that the agreements of S and C with the Western texts is of the most varied kind, ranging from passages where the whole

mass of Old Latin and allied documents is arrayed on the one side to passages where the Old Syriac, or one branch of it, is found to agree with a single Western text such as *k* or Cyprian. Agreements with Codex Bezae are frequent, but *S* and *C* shew no greater tendency to agree with it than with any other of the leading representatives of the Old Latin.

On the whole, I venture to think it is reasonable to suppose that most of the distinctively Western readings in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* are due to the influence of the Diatessaron. At the same time we have seen that there are some readings of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, otherwise only attested by Western authorities, which yet are not in the Diatessaron. The genealogical interpretation of such readings is that they represent the primitive agreement of Rome and Antioch in rejecting a distinctively Alexandrian corruption. But the extant attestation does not differ from that of readings where *S* and *C* have received a Western corruption through the Diatessaron. One of the chief guides in this puzzling labyrinth is, I believe, to be found in the African text, i.e. Cyprian and *k* or *e*. The Africans have their own faults, but I do not think they seem to have been much influenced by Tatian's Harmony. If this be conceded, it follows that the agreement of *Carthage* and Edessa has a much stronger claim to our acceptance than the mere agreement of *Rome* and Edessa. The latter grouping may represent little more than a text locally current in Rome towards the end of the second century. The agreement of *Carthage* and Edessa may take us back a generation earlier.

Before taking leave of the Western texts, we may once more remind ourselves of the large non-Western element in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Many of the most characteristic Western readings find no place in it. Thus the quotation of Ps ii 7 in Lk iii 22 and the omission of the name 'Philip' in Matt xiv 3 are not attested by the Old Syriac, and in Matt v 4, 5, *S* preserves the Eastern order of the Beatitudes. Other passages where *S* rejects a well-marked Western variant are Mk ix 35, xiv 25, Lk ix 62, xii 38.

CLASS IV.

*SC and secondary Greek MSS.*

We have examined the nature of the agreements between the Old Syriac and the two chief strains of text found in our ancient authorities. But all the readings of the Old Syriac cannot be grouped under agreements with **SB** and agreements with the Western texts. There remain those readings, in some respects the most interesting class of all, where the Old Syriac agrees with neither of these groups, nor yet with the text current in the mass of later Greek MSS. These readings are not preserved in any Greek MS which is generally regarded as of primary importance, but they are actually extant in Greek. The secondary Greek attestation shews us that the reading in question is not a mere trick of Syriac rendering, while the witness of the Old Syriac in favour of the reading declares its antiquity and its claim on our serious consideration.

The MSS which contain noteworthy readings attested by the Old Syriac are

The group **1-118-131-209**, here called 1&c

The Ferrar-group **13-69-124-346-543** (and others), here called 13&c  
**565**, called by Tischendorf 2<sup>pe</sup>

**28**

**700**, called by Scrivener and Hoskier 604.

Of these the most important is the group 1&c. This group has been long familiar to scholars through its chief representative Codex 1, a MS used by Erasmus himself. Codex 1 has often been collated, and in 1902 its text was published in full by Mr Kirsopp Lake (now Professor in Leiden), together with its special allies (*Texts and Studies* vii 3). It will however be convenient to take all the MSS above enumerated together, as their textual affinity to the Old Syriac seems to be derived from their common remote ancestry rather than from their special composition. We are now, in fact, trying to gather readings from the Greek text of the Gospels as read in Syria before the 4th century. No Greek MS survives which has such a text even in approximate purity, and to collect our material we must use an eclectic method.

The few variants collected below have been brought together as examples of the help given us in this quest by 1&c 13&c 28 565 and 700. It must be remembered at the outset that we are dealing with a different class of evidence from what we have been hitherto considering. The **SB**-text and the 'Western' texts (including the Diatessaron) are practically contemporaneous in origin with the Old Syriac. They are 'authorities' on the same textual plane. Now we are dealing with inferior mixed texts, the antique elements of which are essentially fragmentary and often mutilated. They are in no sense rivals of the Old Syriac, like the Greek ms B or the Latin ms *k*: none of their readings when definitely contradicted by the ancient texts can be entertained as genuine. Their whole textual use is subsidiary.

At the same time the part that they may legitimately be made to play is considerable, when they preserve the Greek text which underlies the Old Syriac Version. The Old Syriac Version is one of our chief textual authorities, but its witness to the type of Greek text anciently current at Antioch is liable to suspicion from two sides. Like all versions, the Old Syriac may give us merely a translator's paraphrase where it seems to differ from the transmitted Greek: in such cases subsidiary Greek attestation, if it agree literally with the Syriac, tends to shew that the Syriac is preserving a real Greek variation. But besides this ordinary source of uncertainty, from which the Old Syriac suffers in common with other versions, there is the special uncertainty arising from the influence of the Diatessaron. And here the subsidiary Greek attestation plays a most important part. The Old Syriac is wholly ancient, but it is open to the suspicion that many of its readings are nothing more than a translation from the Diatessaron, nothing more than a translation of a text current in Rome. The subsidiary Greek attestation, on the other hand, is taken from a text full of late elements, but it is substantially free from the suspicion of mixture with the Diatessaron or the special Roman text of the end of the 2nd century. Readings, therefore, which are supported both by the Old Syriac and by these subsidiary Greek texts escape both accusations. Such readings must be really ancient, for they are found in the Old Syriac; and they are not mere Syriac adaptations of the Diatessaron, for they are extant in Greek mss not specially connected with the West of Europe. In other words, like almost all the Old Syriac



readings which are neither due to the exigencies of translation nor rendered directly from Tatian's Diatessaron, these variants must have been found in the Greek text of the Gospels as read at Antioch about 200 AD.

Matt vi 6 τῷ 2<sup>o</sup>] *om.* syr.*S* *C* Diat<sup>ar</sup> ix 27 (*sic*) Aph 67 = D al<sup>2</sup> (latt) 1 13&c 700

By this omission the sense becomes 'Pray in secret to thy Father' instead of 'Pray to thy Father which is in secret.' The addition of 1 13&c 700 to the authorities for omission shews us that we cannot be sure that the Old Syriac took over this reading from the Diatessaron against the evidence of the text known to the translator. The use of τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ in Matt vi 18 instead of ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ (as here), when the Evangelist wishes to indicate 'the Father *who is in secret*' makes it not unlikely that the article has been wrongly inserted by most texts in *ver.* 6.

Matt xxii 35 εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν νομικὸς] *om.* νομικὸς syr.*S* arm = 1&c e Orig<sup>lat</sup>

Here *C* has the independent insertion κ<sup>ι</sup>αω (= γραμματεὺς). The words νομικός and νομοδιδάσκαλος in the Gospels are characteristic of S. Luke alone, so that νομικός is out of place in Matt xxii 35 and should be omitted. In this passage, then, the only Greek text that preserves a good reading attested by the consensus of the best extant representatives of the most ancient versions is the family 1&c.

Matt xxv 1 τοῦ νυμφίου] + καὶ τῆς νύμφης syr.*S*-vg arm = D X\* 1\*-209\* 124\* al<sup>5</sup> latt

There is no evidence for 'and the Bride' in any of our more ancient authorities for the Diatessaron text, but this may be merely accidental. The erasure of καὶ τῆς νύμφης from every one of the late Greek documents which do contain the words saves these documents from the suspicion of having been conformed to the Latin Vulgate.

Matt xxvii 16, 17 Βαραββᾶν.....Βαραββᾶν] Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν..... Ἰησοῦν τὸν Βαραββᾶν syr.*S* arm = 1&c. See the Note on this passage for the inconsistent reading of B.

Mk i 13 ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ (so *τ*)] *om.* ἐν τῇ ἐρ. syr.*S* arm = 1&c 28\* 565 700 69-124 al<sup>mult</sup>; *om.* ἐκεῖ **Σ**ABDL 33 13-346&c latt aeg Orig

Here is a clear instance of conflation in the Constantinopolitan text, but instead of its elements being made up of an Alexandrian reading on the one hand and a Western reading on the other, it is made up of an Alexandrian and Western reading added to an Eastern reading<sup>1</sup>.

Mk ii 27 ἐγένετο] ἐκτίσθη syr.*S*-vg = 1&c 700

This curious reading, *viz.* 'The Sabbath was created for man,' is not attested for the Diatessaron (*Moēs.* 62, 148, and see the Note on the passage). There is no real ground for supposing that 'was created' is a Syriac paraphrase for ἐγένετο. It is to be noted that no ancient Western text of this passage survives, *ver.* 27 being omitted by *Daceff*(*r*).

Mk iii 17 Βοανηργές] *B'nai R'gesh*<sup>2</sup> syr.*S*-vg, *Baneregês* arm = *Bavη-ρεγες* 565, *Βανηρεγῆς* 700

It is exceedingly improbable that 565 and 700 have here got their text through the Syriac.

Mk v 1 Γερασηνῶν] Γεργεσηνῶν syr.*S* arm aeth = **Σ**<sup>c</sup>LUΔ 33 al<sup>20</sup> 1&c 28 565 700

It is to be noted that neither *S* nor *C* reads 'Gergesenes' in Lk viii 26, 37.

Mk vi 22, 23 'And the king said unto the girl: "Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee." <sup>23</sup>And he sware unto her: "whatsoever thou shalt ask of me I will give thee, unto the half of my kingdom.]" 'And the king said to the girl: "Ask of me [what thou wilt], and I will give to thee <sup>23</sup>unto the half of my kingdom." And he sware unto her' syr.*S* = 1-209.

Here D (28) 565 lat.vt arm have the common text, but add πολλά after καὶ ᾤμωσεν αὐτῇ.

<sup>1</sup> The full list of Greek authorities which according to Hoskier have ἐκεῖ without ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ is ΚΠ\* 1 4 9 11 12 28\* [42] 50 69 72 114 124 131 209 253 300 474 489 565 700; add syr.*S* and arm, together with the *Book of Kells*.

<sup>2</sup> Written ܒܢܝ ܪܓܝܫ. The vocalisation here adopted is that of syr.vg according to the Jacobites.

Note that in the early part of *ver.* 22 syr.S-vg arm aeth agree with 1&c *b c f* in reading τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος, where SBDLΔ 565 have τῆς θ. αὐτοῦ Ἡρωδιάδος and most documents have τῆς θ. αὐτῆς τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος.

Mk vii 33. In the complicated variations found in this verse, syr.S agrees with 13&c 28, while D 565 side with the Old Latin. For details, see above, p. 127 *f*.

Mk viii 10 εἰς τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά] *to the hill of Magadan* syr.S = εἰς τὸ ὄρος μαγεδᾶ 28 (*sic*).

The name Dalmanutha is almost certainly corrupt, and there is much to be said for Dr Cheyne's suggestion (*Ency. Bibl.* 1635) that the place meant is *Migdal-nunaya*, a suburb of Tiberias. מִגְדַּל נְנוּיָא, i.e. 'Tower of the Fishes,' is mentioned in Talmud B. *Pes.* 46 *b*. On this hypothesis the name was miswritten in a very early copy of S. Mark (*cf* 'Boanerges') and the various texts, including S. Matthew's Gospel, give more or less independent attempts at emendation<sup>1</sup>.

But be that as it may, the agreement here between 28 and syr.S is of considerable interest for the history of the text. If syr.S had not been supported by Greek evidence, it might have been assumed that the Syriac rendering was a mere paraphrastical harmonisation; if 28 had stood alone, the reading it supports would be set aside as the lapse of a mediaeval scribe. As it is, we must recognise that even singular readings of the group of minuscules which we are considering, *viz.* 1&c 13&c 28 565 700, may be genuine relics of a Greek text akin to that from which the Old Syriac was translated.

Mk ix 43 εἰς τὴν γέενναν] *om.* syr.S = 1&c 28 al

In *ver.* 45 syr.S with the best authorities omits εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον, and also *vv.* 44 and 46 which are identical with *ver.* 48. Thus instead of the repetitions of the ordinary text, repetitions

<sup>1</sup> In Mk viii 10 codex B has ΔΑΛΜΑΝΟΥΝΘΑ, which is a step nearer to the hypothetical ΜΑΓΔΑΛΝΟΥΝΕΑ, or Μαγδαλνουναία, conjectured by Dr Cheyne. The Armenian *Dalmanounea* is still nearer.

which in *ver.* 43 have invaded even the text of Westcott and Hort, we get the series "...the unquenchable Fire...Gehenna... Gehenna, where neither their worm dieth nor is their fire quenched."

That the doubled *εἰς* in the ordinary text of *ver.* 43 is not original is also suggested by the fact that the second *εἰς* is changed into *ὅπου ἐστὶν* by D and the Old Latin.

Mk x 11, 12. In *syr.S* and 1 these verses are transposed, so that the prohibition of the wife leaving her husband comes before that of the husband leaving his wife. In 209 the latter clause is omitted altogether. Is it not possible that the reading of 1 and *syr.S* is the original? Later editors would be more likely to put the man before the woman than the woman before the man; moreover the order supported by 1 and *syr.S* brings out more strongly the unmistakable reference to Herodias and Herod Antipas, which underlies the whole story as told in the primitive narrative of S. Mark.

Mk x 14 ἡγανάκτησεν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς] after καὶ *syr.S* adds ἐπιτιμήσας = 1&c 13&c 28 565 (and arm). A clearly recensional variant.

Mk x 20 ἐφυλαξάμην (or ἐφύλαξα)] ἐποίησα *syr.S* arm = 1&c<sup>1</sup> 565. 'Done' instead of 'kept' is also read in Aphraates 392, but there is no evidence for ἐποίησα in Matt or Lk.

Mk x 50 ἀποβαλὼν] ἐπιβαλὼν *syr.S* aeth = 565. Another instance of an early variant preserved in Greek only in a single minuscule.

Mk xvi 3, 4. On the transposition here found in D 565 lat.eur as well as in *syr.S* and Diat<sup>ar</sup> lii 47, see above, p. 241. I mention this reading again here because it is supported by 565 as well as by Codex Bezae.

Lk vi 48 'because it was well builded' (so **SBL**&c)] *om.* *syr.S* = 700. Most documents read 'for it was founded upon the rock,' in agreement with Matt vii 25<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Note that *syr.S* does not omit διδάσκαλε in x 20, as is done by KΠ 1-209 al<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that so conservative a scholar as Mr H. C. Hoskier ventured in 1890 to suggest that in this instance the reading of a single minuscule preserved the original text (Hoskier's *Codex Evangelium* 604, p. cxvi).



Lk xi 33 οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μῶδιον] *om.* syr. *S* arm = LΓΞ 1&c 69 700. The words are inserted in syr. *C* in such a way that the 'bushel' comes before the 'concealed place': *cf* cod. Fuldensis, p. 46. The important fragments edited by Amélineau in *Not. et Extr.* xxxiv, which represent a type of Greek text current in Upper Egypt, also omit the clause in agreement with LΞ.

Joh i 28. See the separate Note.

Joh ix 34 ὅλος] ὅλος syr. *S* arm = 1&c al<sup>7</sup>. The reading implied by *S* is certain: *cf* Matt v 34 *S C*.

Joh xix 13 Γαββαθά] καπφαθά 1 19<sup>ms</sup> 22 138 565 and the Armenian. Unfortunately both *S* and *C* are missing, but the agreement of 1 and 565 with the Armenian leaves little doubt that the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* had here ܟܬܬܐ ܟܬܬܐ *Kapphēthā*, i.e. 'Arch.' The Peshitta has ܟܬܬܐܬܐ, a word a little nearer Γαββαθά in sound, but meaning 'coved,' 'having a niche.'<sup>1</sup>

It is worthy of special notice that 565 in Joh xix seems to present the same type of text that it has in Mk, though in the greater part of Joh it differs little from the run of late MSS.

## CLASS V.

### *Noteworthy singular readings of S and C.*

The singular readings of the Old Syriac must always lie under a certain amount of suspicion, because it is always possible that such readings never existed in Greek, but were mere mistakes or simplifications due to the translator. At the same time we should expect to find a certain number of valuable singular readings. To take the most obvious instance, there are several ancient readings preserved only by the Old Syriac and the African Latin: where the best representatives of the African Latin fail us we may expect to find some equally ancient readings preserved by the Old Syriac alone.

<sup>1</sup> *Romance of Julian* 139<sup>21</sup>: a ܟܬܬܐܬܐ ܟܬܬܐܬܐ was suitable for an extemporised altar.

The singular readings of the Old Syriac, about which we may have the most confidence that they represent ancient Greek variants, are those which supply one element of a variant, otherwise only attested as part of a conflation. The famous conflate readings upon which so much of Dr Hort's textual theory is founded are combinations of an ancient Alexandrian—Dr Hort would say 'Neutral'—text with its almost equally ancient Western rival. The normal Greek attestation of such readings is B for the Alexandrian side, D for the Western side and the mass of codices for the combination of the two rival variants together. In these readings the Old Syriac goes sometimes with B, sometimes with D.

But there is another class of conflate readings in which  $\aleph$ BD and the Latins are all grouped on the one side, the opposing group being mostly made up of the minuscules 1&c 13&c 28 565 700, the readings of which we have just been considering. But these minuscules, valuable as they are, are not nearly so true to type as Codex Bezae. It often happens that they present the ordinary Constantinopolitan reading, especially in Matt Lk and Joh, and so the Old Syriac is often left alone as the representative of the ancient variant. In such cases the text attested by the Old Syriac survives only in those parts of the longest reading which are *not* attested by the Alexandrians and the Latins. It will be found that most of the examples given below illustrate this state of things.

Matt xxiii 23 *ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι, καὶ κείνα μὴ ἀφεῖναι.*

Here Westcott and Hort follow BCL al<sup>30</sup> *a d h* syr.vg boh in reading  $\lambda\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$ , while  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$  alone (without  $\delta\epsilon$ ) is read by  $\aleph$  D<sup>gr</sup> al<sup>pl</sup> lat.e-vg arm. But syr.S C have

*ܐܠܥܠܥܝ ܠܥܡ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܠܥܠܥܝ ܠܥܡ ܕܡܠܟܐ*

*But these ye have done, but these ye have not left.*

This is evidently a rendering of a Greek text in which  $\delta\epsilon$  was present but  $\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota$  was omitted.

I venture to think that there is good reason to believe that the reading implied by the Syriac is the original. The Syriac as it stands is, of course, almost incoherent unless we supply a note of interrogation at the end, but the Greek implied by the Syriac sounds to me like a literal rendering of an Aramaic original. *ταῦτα δὲ ποιῆσαι καὶ κείνα*

μὴ ἀφείναι might very well stand for

והלן למעבר ולא הלן למשבק

where the infinitives with ל have the same force as להכות in 2 Ki xiii 19 *Heb.* The sense is the same as when ἔδει is supplied, but the rhetorical effect is stronger without it.

A New Testament parallel to this construction is to be found in 2 Cor xii 1, where we ought to read with **8** ( $D_2^*$ ) αὐτὸς καυχᾶσθαι δέ—οὐ συμφέρον μὲν—ἐλεύσομαι δὲ εἰς ὁπτασίας κ.τ.λ., a broken construction that well suits the impassioned style of the context.

Lk xix 37 περὶ πασῶν ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων.

For this, syr.*S* *C* have simply περὶ πάντων ὧν εἶδον, while *D* *r* have περὶ πάντων ὧν εἶδον γ(ε)νομένων, the whole clause being omitted by *c<sup>ff</sup>il.s.* The chief interest of this variation consists in the fact that the great codex Vaticanus has περιπαντωνωνειδονδυναμεων, a false concord which suggests that its ancestor attested the shorter reading, now found only in the Old Syriac.

Lk xxiv 46 οὕτως γέγραπται] The note on these words in Westcott and Hort's *Notes on Select Readings* ran as follows:—" + καὶ οὕτως ἔδει Syrian (Gr. Lat. Syr.): also οὕτως ἔδει omitting οὕτως γέγραπται καὶ *cu*<sup>4</sup> *arm* *Eus.Theoph.* syr. iv 2 (Epiph): also <οὕτως *c* *e* Cyp. Probably three independent corrections of the (in the sense intended) abrupt phrase οὕτως γέγραπται παθεῖν; though the Syrian reading might be a conflation of text and the second, had the second more substantive attestation: ἔδει comes from the similar v. 26."

The suggestion thus made has been confirmed by the discovery of syr.*S*, which omits οὕτως γέγραπται καὶ while retaining οὕτως ἔδει. *C* is not extant, but the evidence of the Armenian shews that *S* here preserves the genuine Old Syriac reading. The four Greek minuscules are 72 237 240 244: I have not noticed that any of them shew any tendency to agree with the Old Syriac, so that their reading here may be due to the accidental dropping of a clause.

Joh iii 18 τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ] See the Notes on this passage and on Joh i 34, where it is suggested that *S* (which reads 'the Chosen Son,' i.e. τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ υἱοῦ) may alone have preserved the true reading.

Joh iv 9 *γυναικὸς Σαμαρίτιδος οὔσης*] *om. syr.S.* The following words *οὐ γὰρ συνχρῶνται Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρείταις* are omitted by **S**\**D a b e*: is it possible that this gloss arose as an explanatory paraphrase of *γυναικὸς Σαμαρίτιδος οὔσης*, i.e. that it was intended to round off the woman's speech? If so, *syr.S* preserves an earlier stage than the mass of Greek mss.

The main object of this chapter has been to shew that, when all the necessary deductions have been made, we may learn a great deal from the Old Syriac as to the type of text current in Antioch about the end of the second century. It is useless to attempt to sum up the results of so tentative an investigation as has been here made. One thing, however, remains—to point out the great gap that still exists in our knowledge of the early history of the text of the Canonical Gospels. Speaking generally, we learn the Roman text from Justin Martyr, from Tatian, from *D* and the Latins, the special variety current in Carthage being preserved with great purity in *k*. We learn the Alexandrian text from **S** and *B*, so far as the evidence is not directly contradicted by the puzzling witness of Clement. We learn the early Antiochian text from the Old Syriac. But of the texts current in the fourth great centre of early Christendom, Ephesus and Asia Minor, we know very little. It is almost certain that the manuscripts of this part of the Christian world must have exercised some influence on the texts which have survived to our times, but at present this question is almost untouched and the ancient readings characteristic of Asia Minor and the mss that preserve them remain alike unidentified.



## NOTES ON SELECT READINGS









## S. MATTHEW

**i 1-16** On the general correctness of the spelling of Hebrew proper names see *Introduction*, p. 202 *f.* For 'Shala' (vv. 4, 5), see Ruth iv 20, 21 syr.vg. It is remarkable that the earlier Syriac tradition so often has ܐ at the end of these names where it ought to be ܐ, e.g. ܡܥܒܐ *Ober* (for 'Obed') in *CA*<sup>a</sup>, ܡܥܒܐ *Abior* (for 'Abiud') in *SC*, and ܡܥܒܐ *Elior* (for 'Eliud') in *C*; similarly we find ܡܥܒܐ for Arphaxad in Lk iii 36, on which see the Note. These mistakes, for such they are, afford a welcome proof that the earliest Syriac version of the New Testament was made before the diacritic point which distinguishes *r* from *d* was in general use.

**i 8** The insertion by *C* of the three kings of Judah omitted by the Evangelist has some historic interest, as it was long supposed to be the only variant of the 'Old Syriac' supported by Syriac patristic evidence. But it is really nothing more than an interpolation due to the misplaced erudition of a scribe who did not pay attention to the 'fourteen generations' expressly counted in v. 17. What Barsalibi says is: 'There was once (ܡܡܕܐ) found a Syriac ms conflated (ܡܡܕܐ) from the Hebrew, which inserted the Three Kings in the Genealogy'; there is nothing else to shew that this ms was a copy of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*.

**i 18** ܡܡܕܐ ܡܡܕܐ ܡܡܕܐ in *C* must surely be wrong. The first letter is illegible in *S* and Eus. *HE*<sup>syr</sup> 60 has ܡܡܕܐ ܡܡܕܐ 'before ever they came near.' The imperfect after ܡܡܕܐ is regular and idiomatic in Syriac (*Nöldeke* § 267), while ܡܡܕܐ with the imperfect in the sense of 'though they had not...', would be harsh. An instance seems to occur in *A*<sup>a</sup> 340 (ܡܡܕܐ ܡܡܕܐ), but probably that also is a blunder.

Perhaps however ܡܡܕܐ was substituted by *C* in Matt i 18 for ܡܡܕܐ to exclude the so-called Helvidian theory that the 'brethren' of our Lord were the younger children of Joseph and Mary. In that case the irregularity of the grammar really arises from dogmatical considerations.

**i 21** ܡܡܕܐ *C*; ܡܡܕܐ *S* and syr.vg (= τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ). We may compare Lk ii 10, where *S* and syr.vg have ܡܡܕܐ ܡܡܕܐ for παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. It is always tempting to assign confusions of ܡܡܕܐ 'world' and ܡܡܕܐ 'people' to a Syriac origin, but in Matt i 21 the variation in the suffix shews that the change was not due to a simple graphical error. In view of the far-reaching variations of *S* from syr.vg in this chapter (including the addition of ܡܡܕܐ to ܡܡܕܐ in this very verse, noticed on p. 200), it is hardly likely that ܡܡܕܐ is a mere correction from the Peshitta. See also on Lk ii 10.

**i 16-25** The variations of *S* and *C* in these verses from the ordinary text are best taken together; and contrary to the usual custom, I think it will be better to begin with historical and dogmatic considerations and then go on to the details of the transmitted text. I do this from a firm belief that no fresh light upon the historical events of the Nativity has been thrown either by the discovery of *S* or by the publication of the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*.

The belief that Jesus Christ was born from a virgin mother was not a constituent part of the earliest preaching of Christianity. Even if credence was given to the dogma by those who had heard of it, the silence of S. Mark, of S. John, and of S. Paul, is enough to shew that to them, and to the circles for which they wrote, the theory of the birth of Jesus from a virgin was either unknown or was at most an unessential accompaniment of the Incarnation of the Messiah. In the case of S. Paul we may even claim that the words which he uses to assert the true humanity and Israelite nationality of God's predestined Son, *born of woman, born under Law* (Gal iv 4), imply rather that His birth was essentially natural rather than peculiar. The phrase *Man that is born of a woman* is found in Job xiv 1, and that passage may even have been in S. Paul's mind, though doubtless it had been used for 'a human being' in many a verse and proverb before the author of Job enshrined it in Hebrew literature.

We do not know what led to the propagation of the dogma of the Virgin-birth. The evidence for it rests upon the narratives in the First and Third Evangelists and the general belief of the Church in the second century. It is difficult, if not impossible, to harmonise the details of Matthew and Luke, but the fact that the two narratives are absolutely independent of each other shews that the points upon which the writers agree were not their own invention. The tradition or belief, therefore, known to the First and Third Evangelists and accepted by them, was that Joseph the husband of Mary was a descendant of King David, that Jesus the Messiah was born at Bethlehem, having been conceived by Mary while she was yet a virgin, and that afterwards the Holy Family lived at Nazareth. It is certain that this much was believed by Matthew (as I shall for convenience call the First Evangelist) and that he did not invent it. The matter in hand is the question of textual criticism, and for that purpose this very bare conclusion is quite sufficient.

I must now indicate very briefly the arguments that lead me to believe that the first two chapters of the First Gospel are the work of the same hand as the rest of the Gospel. In common with the majority of modern scholars I believe that our First Gospel is based on a document identical with, or very closely akin to, the Gospel according to S. Mark, while another document has supplied the material for the long Discourses, such as the Sermon on the Mount, &c. Besides these two main sources the Evangelist had access to some other traditions, possibly written, possibly oral, which supplied peculiar features like the earthquake at the crucifixion and the story of the guard at our Lord's tomb. To the Evangelist himself may be assigned the characteristic quotations from Old Testament prophecy, by which he intends to shew that all the stages of Christ's life on earth, and not only the events of the Passion, were fulfilled according to what the Scriptures had foretold. The Greek style of Matthew is marked; he has a fondness for certain words and phrases, so that almost every passage of considerable length contains some of them.

When we come to Matt i, ii, and ask ourselves whether these chapters belong to the rest of the Gospel, or whether they are to be regarded as a later insertion, we find that the internal literary evidence is extraordinarily strong in their favour. The two chapters contain no less than five of the O.T. quotations, accompanied by the regular Matthaean *formulae*; we find also the same machinery of dreams which is employed later on in the story of Pilate's wife (xxvii 19), itself an incident peculiar to Matthew. The linguistic peculiarities of these chapters are conveniently tabulated in Sir John Hawkins' *Horae Synopticae*, pp. 4-7; it is sufficient here to note that in the short compass of Matt i and ii—only 48 verses in all, 16 of which are taken up with a genealogy—we find of the characteristic Matthaean words ἀναχωρεῖν, λεγόμενος (with names), ὄναρ, πληροῦσθαι, ῥηθέν, σφόδρα, τότε, φαίνεσθαι. We may say, in fact, that if the Nativity Story (Matt i 18-ii 23) be not an integral part of the First Gospel, it must be counted one of the cleverest of literary adaptations, a verdict that is not likely to be passed on it by a sane criticism. The literary evidence for the authorship of the Genealogy (Matt i 1-17) is in the nature of things slighter. Yet even here we have the characteristic λεγόμενος in v. 16, and the objective way that the writer speaks of 'the Christ' in v. 17 is quite in the manner of Matt xi 2.

The contents of Matt i and ii, apart from the intrinsic interest of the events related, events which in the view of the Evangelist were even in their details the direct fulfilment of prophecy, fit in excellently with the general scheme. The Gospel according to Matthew may well be called *The Book of Jesus Christ, the son of David*. Under this title our Lord is recognised by the two blind men (ix 27), by the multitudes (xii 23), by the Canaanitish woman (xv 22), by the children in the Temple itself (xxi 9, 15). He is the King of the twelve tribes of Israel (xix 28), who is ultimately to reign over all the nations (xxv 34). The special aim of Matthew, in one word, is to represent our Lord as the legitimate Heir of the royal house of David. This aim is strictly pursued in Matt i, ii. The Genealogy exhibits the royal descent of Jesus Christ, while the Nativity Story shews us the alarm of the usurper Herod, when he learns that the legitimate ruler has been born within his dominions. As Saul tried to kill David, so Herod tries to kill Jesus; and Jesus finds a refuge in Egypt, as David found a refuge among the Philistines.

I believe therefore that Matt i and ii form an integral part of the First Gospel. We have now to consider what view of the Nativity the Evangelist wishes to set before us. There can in the first place be no doubt at all that Matthew wishes us to learn that Jesus Christ was conceived by Mary while yet a virgin. This is not a question of textual criticism, of the omission of a word here or there. The whole paragraph i 18-25 is absolutely based on this assumption. Joseph finds his betrothed with child, but on the authority of Divine revelation he learns that this has taken place not ἐκ πορνείας but ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου. Accordingly he accepts Mary as his wife, and on the birth of the child he accepts the child as his son by naming him, in obedience to the command of the Angel.

I do not know what view the learned Sir Robert Filmer took of this question (see *Patriarcha* i 9), but to me the position taken up by the Evangelist seems as logical as the necessities of the case allowed. If the Messiah be the son of no earthly father and at the same time the legitimate heir of David, it is difficult to see what else he could



have said. That the Messiah should be merely a son of David was not enough. There were doubtless many sons of David alive at the time; but the Evangelist wanted the legitimate Heir of the Divine promises made to David. That the infant Jesus was the legitimate Heir was proved for Matthew by the miracles which were performed on His behalf and by the prophecies which were at once fulfilled by the circumstances of His childhood. The points which Matthew wishes to impress on his readers are the *physical reality* of the birth of Christ from a virgin and the *legality* of the descent from David. The physical reality of the descent from David was, as I understand him, a matter of no moment so long as the legal conditions were satisfied.

To come at last to the Genealogy. A great deal has been written since the discovery of the Sinai Palimpsest about the original form of this Genealogy, about supposed Temple registers, &c. I cannot believe that any document underlies it. On the contrary, I believe that it is the composition of the Evangelist himself. It is a statement of claim that 'Jesus called Christ' is the heir of David, but I do not believe that it is meant to be a statement of physical facts, any more than in the case of the corresponding lists in Chronicles upon which it is so closely modelled. The contemporaries of the Evangelist knew their Bible at least as well as we do. They knew that there were more than 14 generations between David and the Captivity, that Joram did not beget Uzziah, and that Josiah did not beget Jeconiah. Nor would the fact that the Evangelist had followed the statements in 1 Chron iii 17 allow them to forget the tremendous curses that Jeremiah had pronounced upon this same Jeconiah: *Earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord! Thus saith the Lord, Write ye this man childless, ... for no man of his seed shall prosper, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah* (Jer xxii 29*f.*). As S. Irenaeus says, *adv. Haer.* iii xxi 9, *Super haec autem nec rex esse posset si quidem Ioseph filius fuisset, nec heres secundum Hieremiam.*

Throughout the whole Genealogy the Evangelist appears to be telling us in an audible aside that the heir had often been born out of the direct line or irregularly. Tamar the daughter-in-law of Judah, Rahab the harlot, Ruth the Moabitess, and the unnamed wife of Uriah, are forced upon our attention, as if to prepare us for still greater irregularity in the last stage. This again is no matter of textual criticism and 'various readings': just as we cannot emend the miraculous conception out of the Nativity story, so we cannot get rid of the essential and intentional artificiality in the Genealogy. The Genealogy in S. Luke is quite different: I know no reason why the series in Lk iii 23-31 may not be the names of the ancestors of Joseph up to David, and there can be little doubt that S. Luke believed himself to be giving the true names. But I cannot believe that the Genealogy in Matt i 2-16 rests on any previous list of Joseph's ancestors. It is artificial from beginning to end, and meant to be so, as artificial as the lists of the twelve thousand sealed out of every tribe of Israel except Dan in the Book of Revelation<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I rejoice to think that this view of the Genealogy in S. Matthew was also held by so orthodox a theologian as the late Bishop Westcott. He says in his own note on Matt i 16 (Westcott and Hort's *Introduction*, 2nd ed., Appendix, p. 141): "it is scarcely necessary to add that ἐγέννησεν in this genealogy expresses legal heirship and not physical descent."



From what has been said it is evident that no light can be thrown by any statement in this Genealogy upon the physical facts of the Nativity. If the Genealogy had ended with the uncompromising statement 'and Joseph begat Jesus' it would not prove that the Evangelist believed that Joseph had been the natural father of Jesus. All that the Evangelist cares about is that Joseph accepted Jesus as his son; and further, that Joseph was justified in so doing, because of the exceptional circumstances that had been revealed to him by the Angel.

It has been necessary to discuss these questions at length, because our judgement upon the various readings that are actually found in Matt i 16-25 must be influenced by the general view we take of the passage, i.e. whether we are looking for a document with a different tendency underlying the text, or contrariwise hold that no such document ever existed.

The important points of variation are four, *viz.*

- (i) the omission in i 24.
- (ii) the addition of 'to thee' by the Old Syriac in i 21.
- (iii) the nominative to be supplied to ἐκάλεσεν in i 25.
- (iv) the variations in i 16.

(i) Matt i 24, 25, runs as follows:—

"Now when Joseph arose from sleep he did as the angel of the Lord commanded him; and he took his wife and [knew her not until] she bare a son, and called his name Jesus."

The words between brackets are omitted by *k* and *S*. They are, I believe, right in so doing. According to the view of the whole matter which has been explained above, the shorter text expresses the meaning of the Evangelist. He was only concerned at this point to assert that Joseph publicly accepted Mary as his lawful wife and publicly acknowledged her son as lawfully born in wedlock. The domestic arrangements which their piety may have suggested to them were not a matter of concern for the world at large. But it is easy to see how later generations of Christians, more impressed with the significance of the physical miracle and less anxious to assure the legality of our Lord's title to be Heir of David, might find difficulties in the shorter text. Accordingly most documents insert the words which I have enclosed in brackets; while the Diatessaron, here followed by *C*, inserts *lived purely with her until* in the same place. *C* also changes 'his wife' into 'Mary,' still further to remove the impression that they might have lived together as man and wife. The reading of *C* and the Diatessaron presupposes the shorter text of *k* and *S*, for the ordinary text does not provoke alteration in that sense. From the point of view of textual genealogy, the agreement of the African Latin (*k*) with the original form of the Old Syriac (*S*), virtually supported as it is *but not caused* by the Diatessaron, carries us back to the earliest stage of the Canonical text.

(ii) In v. 21 both *S* and *C* make the Angel say of Mary to Joseph *She will bear thee a son*, as if it were τέξεται δὲ νότον σοι, καὶ καλέσεις κ.τ.λ., just like Lk i 13. The addition is interesting, inasmuch as its presence in *C* as well as *S* makes it certain that in this whole series of variations it is *S* that preserves the original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, and that the variations of *C* are later attempts at emendation. Similarly, in v. 25, *S* has *she bare him a son*, but here *C* omits, in company with the

rest of our witnesses. It is tempting to suppose that the pronoun is genuine, as it is quite in harmony with the point of view of the Evangelist. But its absence from *k* and the other Latins makes it on the whole more probable that it is a mere stylistic addition to the Syriac by the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and that it never had a place in the Greek text.

(iii) ἐκάλεσεν in Greek and Latin may refer either to Joseph or to Mary, but in Syriac and in English we are bound to take a side. The command of the Angel as to the naming of Mary's Child is given to Joseph (*v.* 21), so that we can hardly doubt that the English versions both of 1611 and of 1881 are right when they make Joseph the nominative of the verb in *v.* 25. By naming the Child, Joseph accepts Him publicly as a lawfully born member of his family. It is therefore thoroughly satisfactory to find this view confirmed by *S*, which has a masculine verb in *v.* 25. But *C* and the Peshitta, apparently following Tatian, adopt the other view, and make the verb in *v.* 25 feminine. This was all the more tempting in Syriac, because ܐܘܢܬܐ, the form of the verb required in *v.* 21 and used both by *S* and the Peshitta, may mean either 'and thou (*masc.*) shalt call' or 'and she shall call.' In such a case it is legitimate to interpret the doubtful tense by what follows; probably the scribe of *S* wrote ܐܘܢܬܐ in *v.* 21 for the 2nd sing. *masc.*, while the Peshitta wrote it for the 3rd sing. *fem.* But *C* goes still further and reads ܐܘܢܬܐ, so that the clause reads 'and his name shall be called.' Here again the object of the change is to minimise the part played by Joseph.

It is worth notice that Cod. Sangermanensis (*g*), the 'mixed' Latin ms that has so many affinities with the Diatessaron, has in *v.* 21 not *uocabis* but *uocabit*, in agreement with the interpretation of the Syriac implied by the Peshitta.

(iv) The textual problems involved in Matt i 16 are exceedingly complex, and I cannot claim to have arrived at a solution that satisfies all the elements of the puzzle. But if what I have said above be accepted, as to the general aim and composition of the Genealogy, the intrinsic interest of the determination of the original text in this passage is considerably lessened. Whatever our decision be, the question is only a matter of literary criticism, not of historical fact.

The distinction is important, because some critics, believing that this Genealogy must have been based on an earlier document, have acclaimed the texts that contain or seem to contain the statement Ἰωσήφ...ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν as the representatives of an earlier form than the received text, and as genuine relics of the (supposed) naturalistic account of the birth of Jesus which they conjecture to stand behind Matt i and ii. But if the Genealogy be the composition of the Evangelist himself, it will reflect his own point of view.

The two readings of Matt i 16 which are extant in Greek mss are

(α) Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός.

This is the reading of **NB** and most mss, and it is definitely attested by Tertullian, *De Carne Christi* § 20.

(β) Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ὃ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαρίας ἐγέννησεν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν.

This is the reading attested by the Ferrar Group.' It is also implied by the





the original had simply

Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ· Ἰωσήφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγ. Χριστόν

but in that case there would be no mention of Mary at all. It is inconceivable that the Evangelist, who thought it served the purpose that he had in hand to mention Thamar, Rahab, Ruth and Uriah's wife, should leave the step containing Joseph bare. No evidence exists, as a matter of fact, for omitting all reference to Mary. Had we such a text as Ἰακ. δὲ ἐγένν. τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας· Ἰωσήφ δὲ ἐγέννησεν κ.τ.λ. the case would have been different, but the evidence does not point that way. And in that case also the reading of *S* would be further from the original than that of *AB* and Tertullian.

As I have explained at length in the earlier part of this Note I believe the question to be only one of literary and textual interest. But what is to me a very serious matter is this. If the clause *ἣ μνηστευθεῖσα παρθένος Μαρίας* be not genuine, even in the connexion in which it appears in *S*, then all the authorities which contain it agree in error, and therefore they must have some common origin later than the autograph. In the case before us I must regretfully own that *S* and *k* agree in a common corruption. It becomes once more possible to speak of *the Western text* in the singular number. This is the real lesson of the variation in Matt i 16, and I do not see how to evade the difficulty, except on the supposition that Theodoret was mistaken and that the Genealogies had a place somewhere in the Diatessaron, perhaps as an Appendix. On that hypothesis the agreement of *k* and *S* would be regarded as one of the numerous cases where the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* deserted the true old-Antiochian Greek text to follow a Western reading embedded in Tatian's Harmony. But I must offer this rather as an excuse than as an explanation.

There still remain some pieces of evidence that must not be passed over in silence, although I am unable to regard them as contributing any new element to the solution of the problem.

(i) In both the Sinai MSS of the Palestinian Lectionary (Mrs Lewis's B and C) we read

... *ܠܝܫܥ ܡܢ ܝܫܥ ܡܢ ܝܫܥ ܡܢ ܝܫܥ ܡܢ ܝܫܥ*

*Joseph the husband of Mary, him from whom was born Jesus.*

The Vatican MS (A) has *ܝܫܥ* and *ܝܫܥ*, now changed into *ܝܫܥ*. No doubt the reading of the Sinai MSS is only a mistake for *ܝܫܥ* (i.e. *her from whom*), but its occurrence should warn us not to assume too hastily that later orthodox scribes might not blunder into statements that look heretical.

(ii) The Genealogy added at the end of the Borgian MS of the Arabic Diatessaron (Ciasca's B) contains no ancient element of text, as I have learnt through the kindness of my friend Dr Guidi. The Vatican MS (Ciasca's A) is a more interesting document, inasmuch as some of the kings' names come ultimately from a Greek and not a Syriac source, e.g. *ܐܪܚܝܘܡ* (= *Ῥοβόαμ*), *ܐܫܐܦ* (= *Ἀσάφ*). In Matt i 16 we find

*ܝܥܩܘܒ ܠܕ ܝܘܨܦ ܪܝܥ ܡܪܝܡ ܐܝܬܝ ܡܢ ܐܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚ*

*Jacob begat Joseph, who from her begat Jesus the Messiah.*



It is from general considerations most unlikely that any peculiarity in this Arabic ms should be really old, unless the reading stood in the immediate Syriac original. Even in the Genealogy, although the spelling of some of the names shews a Greek influence, others like رעות (i.e. *Ruth*) are clearly derived direct from the Syriac. Now syr.vg. has ܪܥܘܬ ܠܪܘܬ, and ܐܝܣܘܥ ܐܝܣܘܥ, and ܐܝܣܘܥ ܐܝܣܘܥ is surely more likely to be a blundering translation of this (pointing ܐܝܣܘܥ) than of a hypothetical ܐܝܣܘܥ. We have seen from the example of the codices of the Palestinian Lectionary that orthodox scribes do not always produce an orthodox reading. I doubt therefore if Ciasca's A brings us here back to anything but what is found in the Peshitta.

(iii) More important are the variations found in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, edited by F. C. Conybeare (Oxford, 1898). In this Dialogue Matt i 16 is quoted three times. The third of these (p. 88) is obviously based on the common text, and is interesting only as an example of how loosely and inaccurately the writer quotes the N.T.: it runs *ιακ. δὲ ἐγένν. τὸν ἰωσήφ τὸν μνηστευσάμενον μαριάμ, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*. The second quotation is in a rapid recapitulation of the genealogy (p. 76) and runs *ιακὼβ δὲ τὸν ἰωσήφ, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα μαρία· ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγ. Χριστός*. This is chiefly interesting as affording an actual proof that the phrase 'husband of Mary' was liable to change. The first quotation (also on p. 76) is more striking. It is put into the mouth of the Jew, and to gain an idea of the context it is necessary to quote more fully.

The Christian says: "Yes,...from Abraham [Jesus] derives his flesh."

The Jew says: "How was he born? Tell me his genealogy."

The Christian says: "Thine own mouth hath declared it when reading the Old and New Testament, and dost thou not know this?"

The Jew says: "There is a genealogy in the Old Testament, and in the New there is one in *Matthew* (ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖα, sic), and it runs thus, *Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, from whom was born Jesus that is called Christ*. And [so] Joseph begat Jesus that is called Christ, about whom we are talking, it says he begat [him] from Mary."

The Greek is *ιακὼβ...λεγόμενος χς, καὶ ἰωσήφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν ἰν τ. λεγ. χ. περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος, φησὶν ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τῆς μαρίας*.

I do not believe that *καὶ ἰωσήφ ἐγέννησεν κ.τ.λ.* is meant to be a quotation; it is the inference of the Jew, who is represented as on the way to conversion. The use of *καὶ* is much the same as on p. 81, last line, where we read *μάρτυρα δὲ παριστῶμεν τὸν προφήτην ἠσαΐαν λέγοντα, ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἄνδρα οὐ γνώσεται*. Here the last seven words are evidently no quotation but the inference of the speaker. We may almost paraphrase this *καὶ* in English by 'well then.' The Jew quotes the Genealogy and then draws his inference, which is of course repudiated by the Christian disputant. It is the simple fact that the Genealogy, as it stands according to the ordinary text, is consistent with the statement *Ἰωσήφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν*, and it is only because of what comes afterwards in the following verses that we see that 'Joseph begat Jesus' was not the Evangelist's meaning. The Jew in the *Dialogue* had a perfect grammatical right to take the intentionally ambiguous language of Matt i 16 as he did; it is only by examining the context that we can confute him.



Transfiguration. At the Baptism according to Mk and Lk, the Voice said ‘*Thou art My Son.*’ In Matt, according to the ordinary text, the Voice says ‘*This is My Son,*’ as at the Transfiguration; and this reading is followed by the Diatessaron against the witness of the other Synoptic Gospels. The evidence is singularly full, including Ephr. *Rom.* vi 16 c and *Moesinger* 99, Marutha (see above, p. 156), and even the Arabic Diatessaron: all these have ‘*This is My Son*’<sup>1</sup>. But *S* and *C* here read ‘*Thou art My Son,*’ in agreement with *D a* and Irenaeus *Haer.* iii 9, according to the Greek text as preserved in the very ancient fragments from Oxyrhynchus<sup>2</sup>. Here therefore *S* and *C* agree with the best extant Western texts in supporting a reading opposed by the Diatessaron.

I venture to think that the balance of internal evidence is in this case in favour of the reading ‘*Thou art My Son*’ attested by *S* and *C*. The general harmonistic tendencies of transcribers familiar with the Gospel text cannot be cited in favour of either reading, for the impulse to assimilate Matt iii 17 to Matt xvii 5 would be at least as strong as the impulse to assimilate it with Lk iii 22 and Mk i 11. But the same tendency which led Tatian to prefer the ‘*This is My Son*’ of his text of Matt to the ‘*Thou art My Son*’ of Mk and Lk would lead an over-orthodox scribe to change ‘*Thou art*’ into ‘*This is.*’ For ‘*This is My Son*’ is an announcement to the bystanders or to John the Baptist: it does not imply the act of Adoption, any more than the Voice at the Transfiguration implied it. But ‘*Thou art My Son*’ is addressed to Jesus Himself: we even find that most of the older Western texts, including *D a* and *SC* (but not *Iren*), add *πρὸς αὐτόν* after *λέγουσα*, and in any case the reference to Ps ii 7 could not be missed. For these reasons I prefer to think that the First Evangelist here followed his source Mk i 11 without making any alteration (unless indeed *πρὸς αὐτόν* itself be genuine), and that the true text of Matt iii 17 contained the words *σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου*, not *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς μου*.

v 4 ܐܪܡܝܐ ‘shall be comforted’ *SC* and syr.vg; the *Diatessaron* had ܐܪܡܝܐ ܐܡܠ (or ܐܪܡܝܐ ܐܡܡ ܐܡܠ) i.e. ‘to them folk will make supplication,’ if we may trust Aphraates 41: see *Introduction*, p. 181, note. The sense of this alternative rendering of *παρακληθήσονται* is the same as in Lk vi 24, xvi 25 (see pp. 109, 135*f.*), but the verb there used is ܐܪܡܝܐ not ܐܪܡܝܐ.

In rendering the Syriac text of the Beatitudes into English we are met with the difficulty that ܐܠܐ, like the English ‘that,’ is used both for a conjunction and for the relative pronoun. Thus Matt v 4 may mean ‘Happy is it for mourners who will be comforted,’ as well as ‘Happy is it for mourners because they will be comforted.’ As a general rule the true English rendering of such passages in a version may be ascertained by referring to the original Greek, but here the question is complicated by the very strong probability that the original Aramaic saying corresponded in form and therefore in ambiguity to the Syriac before us.

<sup>1</sup> I do not include Ephr. *Rom.* v 545 A (see above, p. 116), as the context shews that the Transfiguration was in S. Ephraim’s mind.

<sup>2</sup> See *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* iii 10 *f.*, and the restoration of the fragments by Dr Armitage Robinson in the *Athenaeum* for Oct. 24, 1903. Note that Cod. Bobiensis (*k*) is not extant here.

**v 13** ܠܦܪܬܐ ܡܢܐܬܐ *C*: a double rendering of  $\mu\omega\rho\alpha\nu\theta\eta$ , betraying the hand of the reviser, who was probably the same as added ܠܐܢ ܠܝܢܐ ܐܠ in v 18: see p. 217*f*. For ܠܦܪܬܐ as a rendering of  $\mu\omega\rho\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , see Rom i 22.

**v 22** The forensic conception of guilt in this verse is so genuinely Semitic and therefore alien to our phraseology that it is difficult to find a satisfactory translation. It is desirable to get a terminology which will fit Matt xii 41, 42 and Matt xx 18 as well as this verse. We distinguish between 'guilty' and 'sentenced': the Semitic idiom did not. Further there is a common error that 'judgement' in this verse and in Matt xii 41, 42, means the Last Judgement; this error was at any rate not shared by the Syriac-speaking commentators, as may be seen from Barsalibi on Matt xii 41. 'To stand up in judgement with' means little more than 'to be judged in comparison with': the Court and the penalty are unspecified. But this idiom has passed over into the Greek Gospel, and the  $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \kappa\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\iota$  of Matt xii 41 is taken even by Grimm and Thayer to refer to the Last Day. On this see Wellhausen in GGN for 1895, *Heft* 1, p. 11.

**v 34** On ܠܡܠܚܥܐ for  $\delta\lambda\omega\varsigma$ , see p. 59 and also Joh ix 34.

**v 39** On ܠܡܠܚܥܐ, see p. 8 note. In S. Ephraim's Commentary (*Moes.* 65, 133) we find 'slap for slap' quoted almost as if it formed part of the text before him. The passage in his mind is evidently Exod xxi 25 where the Syriac has ܠܡܠܚܥܐ ܠܡܠܚܥܐ. The word ܠܡܠܚܥܐ means (1) 'the cheek'; (2) 'a slap on the cheek.' It is therefore curiously appropriate as an illustration of Matt v 39, and may possibly have had a place in the *Syriac* Diatessaron after 'eye for eye, tooth for tooth.' But the play upon words does not seem to be repeated in any form of Palestinian Aramaic, so that it can hardly have anything to do with the original form of the saying.

**v 44** On the Diatessaron text in this passage, see pp. 110*f*.

**vi 1** On ܠܡܠܚܥܐ, meaning 'else,' see p. 67.

**vi 4** On ܠܡܠܚܥܐ for ܠܡܠܚܥܐ, see p. 47.

**vi 7** On ܠܡܠܚܥܐ, see p. 81.

**vi 11, 12** For the text of the Lord's Prayer according to the *Acts of Thomas*, see pp. 105*f*. The metrical Homily of Jacob of Serug on the Lord's Prayer is still unpublished: it is a work of some interest as shewing that the pre-vulgate text of the Prayer still to some extent survived in popular if not in liturgical use so late as the 6th century. I give the text from B.M. Add. 17157 (AD 565), with various readings from B.M. Add. 14515 (AD 893) and B.M. Add. 14584 (6th or 7th cent.). Jacob of Serug died AD 521 at the age of seventy.





vii 17, 18 See Note on Lk vi 45.

viii 4 On the omission of  $\omega$ , or some similar word, before  $\omega\lambda\lambda\alpha$ , see p. 75 *f*.

viii 5 For Euseb. *Theoph.* iv 2, see p. 170.

viii 16 On the sign  $<$  in *C*, see p. 13 and also p. 29.

x 2-4 The variations in the names and the order of the Twelve Apostles are somewhat complicated and confusing, but for the consideration of the sources which have contributed to mould the text of Matt x 2-4 in *S* several of the lists may be left out of account. In the first place a tabulation of all the lists in our various authorities brings out at once the curious and noteworthy fact that neither the list in Mk nor the list in Acts has exercised any influence. We may also neglect the lists in the Arabic Diatessaron and in Cod. Fuldensis, for both of these have been assimilated to the list in Lk vi 14-16. The Syriac list published by Goussen from Cod. Sachau 311 (see *Harris* 101), which professes to give the Diatessaron list according to Isho'dad, has on the other hand every sign of genuineness. It is obviously a harmonised list, such as the text of the Diatessaron might be expected to present, and at the same time it contains clear points of resemblance with the text of *S* in Matt x 2-4.

All the lists in Matt and Lk agree in the first six names and end with Iscariot. It is therefore only necessary to take the remaining five names. I have not noted the inclusion or exclusion of titles, except to point out that all three Syriac lists add 'the Publican' to Matthew's name, thereby clearly shewing on which Gospel the list is primarily based.

(In the Table, *Ravenna* stands for the order attested by the 5th century mosaics in the great Baptistry at Ravenna (*Battistero degli Ortodossi*), in which the Eleven and S. Paul stand round a circle thus :—

PAVLVS	PETRVS
THOMAS	ANDREAS
MATTHEVS	IACOBVS ZEBEDEI
IACOBVS ALFEI	IOHANNIS
SIMON CANANEVS	FILIPPVS
IVDAS ZELOTES	BARTOLOMEVS

The same set of mosaics attest the 'Western' order of the Gospels, *Matt Ioh Lc Mc.*)

8B lat.vg	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Thaddaeus	Simon Canan.
D k	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Lebbaeus	Simon Canan.
<i>Isho'dad</i>	Thos.	Matth.	James Lebbaea Alph.	Simon Canan.	Jude s. of James
<i>Acts of Thomas</i>	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Simon Canan.	Jude s. of James
<i>S</i>	Thos.	Matth.	James Alph.	Simon Canan.	Jude s. of James







erbs in *vv.* 5–8<sup>a</sup> are masc. sing. in *S* and fem. sing. in *C*. Thus both mss are inconsistent with themselves. ܠܚܝܬܝܢ in *C* (*vr.* 7<sup>a</sup>, 8<sup>a</sup>) is inconsistent with ܠܚܝܬܝܢ (*v.* 5<sup>a</sup>), and ܠܚܝܬܝܢ here in *S* is inconsistent with ܠܚܝܬܝܢ and ܠܚܝܬܝܢ, unless the forced construction indicated in my translation be adopted. Under these circumstances is it not better to suppose that the translator used masc. for the seeds, fem. for the young plants? In the first case ܠܚܝܬܝܢ is understood, in the second an impersonal fem. sing. (*Nöldeke* § 274). In *S* the verbs were all corrected to agree with ܠܚܝܬܝܢ in *vr.* 5<sup>a</sup>, but ܠܚܝܬܝܢ was overlooked. In *C* the ܠܚܝܬܝܢ at the beginnings of *vr.* 7 and 8 were made fem., as well as [ܠܚܝܬܝܢ] in *vr.* 8, under the influence of the fem. verbs in *vr.* 6.

ܠܚܝܬܝܢ in *vr.* 8 might grammatically be taken to refer to the ܠܚܝܬܝܢ ܠܚܝܬܝܢ, but both in *S* and in Aphraates 301<sup>o</sup> it is referred to the seed sown in the earth.

**xiii 35** On the relation of the text of *S* and *C* to the Peshitta rendering of Ps lxxvii 2, see p. 204.

**xiii 48** ܠܚܝܬܝܢ ܠܚܝܬܝܢ. These words correspond to συνέλεξαν τὰ καλὰ εἰς ἄγην (or εἰς ἄγγεῖα) in the Greek: see p. 57. On the construction my friend Prof. Kennett writes to me: "I am inclined to think that the repetition is due to a semi-adverbial, or perhaps one should say predicative, use, *viz.* 'they chose out fishes as good'."

In any case the doubled ܠܚܝܬܝܢ is not superlative in meaning and has nothing to do with the Old Latin use of *optimus* in this passage, though doubtless the latter is the cause why D<sup>gr</sup> reads τὰ κάλλιστα for τὰ καλά, *meliora* in *d* being a further attempt to produce an equivalent for D<sup>gr</sup>.

**xiv 22** ܠܚܝܬܝܢ. Compare p. 78.

**xiv 27** ܠܚܝܬܝܢ *S*. The equivalent for θάρσει, θαρσεῖτε, in syr.vg, wherever it occurs in the Gospels, is ܠܚܝܬܝܢ or ܠܚܝܬܝܢ, but this uniformity does not appear to be primitive. ܠܚܝܬܝܢ is never used either by *S* or *C*. In Matt xiv 27 *C* has ܠܚܝܬܝܢ (like syr.vg in Acts xxiii 11), and in the other passages it is not extant. The usual rendering in *S*, found in Matt ix 2, Mk x 49, Joh xvi 33, is 'Fear not,' the primitive Semitic greeting, of which θάρσει is one of the regular LXX equivalents. But here ܠܚܝܬܝܢ is unsuitable, because μὴ φοβεῖσθε almost immediately follows θαρσεῖτε, and so we find ܠܚܝܬܝܢ in *S*, an adaptation of the Greek word not elsewhere found in Syriac.

In Matt vi 26, Lk xii 24, ܠܚܝܬܝܢ occurs in *C* and syr.vg in its ordinary sense of τρέφει, but *S* substitutes ܠܚܝܬܝܢ for it in Lk and in Matt it is not extant.

**xiv 32** For the construction, see pp. 69, 70. The verb ܠܚܝܬܝܢ 'to calm down' (e.g. of a fever), is the opposite of ܠܚܝܬܝܢ and ܠܚܝܬܝܢ.

**xiv 36** On ܠܚܝܬܝܢ, lit. 'blue-purple,' see p. 84.

**xv 2** ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ means 'the commandments of our greybeards,' not 'of *the* greybeards.' Similarly in Lk xxiv 20 ܥܠ ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ means 'the chief priests and our elders,' i.e. the word is to be read with the suffix of the 1st pers. plur. I mention this only because both Cureton and Mrs Lewis (in *Some Pages*) have translated the word as if it were the 'plur. absolute,' without a suffix. Similarly in the Acts (e.g. i 15) ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ, corresponding to ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, should be pointed with a suffix, so as to make 'O men, our brethren!'

**xv 26** For the construction of ܡܠܚܬܐ in *S*, see p. 64 and 65 *note*.

**xvi 1** If *S* really has ܡܠܚܬܐ, and not ܡܠܚܬܐ as *C*, the construction of the participle will be parallel to that in Lk xviii 11 *S*, on which see p. 64.

**xvi 18** On the 'Gate-bars of Sheol,' see pp. 119, 156, 170.

**xvii 20** For the construction of *S*, see p. 74.

**xvii 26, 27** The remarkable addition quoted in the foot-notes from Moesinger and the Arabic obviously belongs to the text of the Diatessaron. It is found in the Greek minuscule 713.

In the Acts of Thomas (*Wright* 312) our Lord is called

ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ

*Giver of toll and head-money for us and for Himself,*

or, as the Sinai Fragments read in agreement with the ancient Greek translation (*Bonnet*, p. 250) ܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܚܬܐ *for Himself and for His disciples*. This is obviously an allusion to this passage of S. Matthew's Gospel, but it affords no evidence as to the reading in xvii 26.

**xviii 8** For the construction of *S* in this verse, see p. 77 and p. 70.

**xviii 10** For Aphraates 43, see p. 183 *f*.

**xviii 17** The use of ܡܠܚܬܐ here by *S* to render ἐκκλησία is in every way remarkable. The Syriac for 'Church' is ܡܠܚܬܐ and for 'Synagogue' ܡܠܚܬܐ. The words are used just as in English, so that in *Theophania* iv 11, where Eusebius makes a point of the foreknowledge of Christ in calling the Christian assemblies 'Churches' and not 'Synagogues,' the Syriac translator is able to employ the regular antithesis between ܡܠܚܬܐ and ܡܠܚܬܐ. Both words mean by derivation 'assemblies,' and both are probably derived from Jewish terminology, but by *usage* ܡܠܚܬܐ is appropriated to Christian and ܡܠܚܬܐ to Jewish assemblies. This is the case even in

<sup>1</sup> The only Peshitta edition which here has the correct vocalisation ܡܠܚܬܐ is De Sacy's Syriac and Carshuni N.T. (Paris 1824), but Erpenius's *Arabic* has يا ايها الرجال اخوتنا.

Acts vii 38, where 'the Church in the wilderness' (τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ) becomes in Syriac ܩܝܨܐ ܕܗܥܪܐ, i.e. 'the *Synagogue* in the wilderness.'

The rendering of *S* does not imply a various reading in the Greek of this verse, any more than in the case of Acts vii 38 syr.vg. We must therefore suppose that the translator understood our Lord to mean by ἐκκλησία not Holy Church, but some less august assembly appropriate to the social organisation of the day (*cf* Matt v 22), a piece of exegesis as surprising as it is refreshing. It is a pity that *S* is not extant for Matt xvi 18.

**xviii 20** On the reading of  $S$ , see p. 236.

xviii 22 On ܐܬܬܝܬܐܢܐ (see p. 60), Prof. Kennett remarks: "The Syriac expresses addition and multiplication by much the same words, and likewise subtraction and division. I should take the reduplicated ܐܬܬܝܬܐܢܐ as an adverbial use, signifying 'seven times,' and understand the phrase to mean 'add to seventy (its like) seven times.'"

**xix 11** On  $\neg\eta$  for  $\neg\eta$ , see p. 53 *f*.

**xix 28** Alluding to this passage *A* 280 has

[illegible]

*There is prepared the Throne of Royalty (A<sup>a</sup> has 'of Greatness'), and judgement is made ready in the Judgement-place; for the righteous seats are arranged, who judge the wicked in the day of Judgement.*

This agrees with *C* (and syr.vg) in reserving the transliteration of the Greek *θρόνος* for the Throne of the Son of Man: *S* on the other hand uses the Syriac ܐܘܬܐܢܐ both for the great Throne and the seats of the Apostles. In Matt xxv 31, where ܐܘܬܐܢܐ occurs again both in Aphraates 289 and in syr.vg, *S* is not extant.

**xx 28** *fin.* Ḳamḥa...ḫḳa...ḫḳa...ḥ Ḳ. For the construction, see pp. 71, 72, where it is pointed out that the apodosis may be placed at either of the last three words, i.e. the sentence may be translated

either “But if...there will come...and [he] will say...and thou shalt have...”

or “But if...and there come...then [he] will say...and thou shalt have...”

or "But if...and there come...and [he] say...then thou shalt have...."

The second of these alternatives is that which is actually found in D and the Latins, which support *ἐρεῖ* not *καὶ ἐρεῖ*. But the fact that *C* ends the saying by 'thou shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests' (i.e. Lk xiv 10<sup>b</sup>) instead of *καὶ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο χρησίμων* shews that the Syriac is by no means a literal rendering of the Greek, and passages such as Matt xii 44, 45 (= Lk xi 25, 26) make it clear that the Syriac often





Jesus went forth..., his disciples drew near, shewing him (i.e. *to shew*) the building.' For ܐܒܕܐ...ܐܒܕܐ, see pp. 69, 70; for ܐܒܕܐ...ܐܒܕܐ, see p. 64 and 65 note: on this view the construction of Matt xxiv 1 affords a parallel to that of *S* in Matt xv 26.

**xxv 1** On the reading, see p. 247.

**xxvi 47** For the construction, see p. 69.

**xxvi 50** The reading of *S*<sup>ed</sup> is correct (see vol. i, p. 544), i.e. *S* really has ܐܒܕܐ...ܐܒܕܐ for ἐφ' ὃ πάρει, a rendering of the Greek which, like ܐܒܕܐ...ܐܒܕܐ in syr.vg, seems to leave an *anacoluthon*. Barsalibi understands the saying to mean "Because thou hast come [I call thee not my disciple, but] my associate [i.e. my adversary]," but this is explanatory paraphrase not a translation of the Syriac, which is as obscure as the Greek of which it is a word-for-word rendering.

**xxvi 60** As explained in vol. i, p. 544, *S* seems to read ܐܒܕܐ...ܐܒܕܐ, i.e. 'they could not *take the truth*.' Compare D a ff *h*, which attest οὐχ εὖρον τὸ ἐξῆς.

**xxvii 16, 17** 'Jesus bar Abba.' The Greek text of these verses is <sup>16</sup> εἶχον δὲ τότε δέσμιον ἐπίσημον λεγόμενον [Ἰησοῦν] Βαραββᾶν. <sup>17</sup> συνηγμένων οὖν αὐτῶν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Πειλᾶτος· τίνα θέλετε ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν [Ἰησοῦν τὸν] Βαραββᾶν ἢ Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν;

The bracketed words are omitted by all authorities except syr.*S* with 1\*-118-209\* arm syr.pal<sup>lect</sup> and some *marginalia*: also B and Orig<sup>1, 316</sup> have τὸν before Βαραββᾶν, but without Ἰησοῦν in either place.

Furthermore 1\*-118-209 add τῶν δύο to ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν, while other authorities, including Origen arm and syr.pal<sup>lect</sup> prefix τῶν δύο (or ἀπὸ τῶν δύο) to ἀπολύσω ὑμῖν. This addition seems to be derived from *ver.* 21 and is not countenanced by syr.*S*.

The main object of this Note is to point out the reasons why the reading of syr.*S* should be adopted as the original text of Matt xxvii 16, 17, on the ground of transcriptional probability, textual authority, and internal appropriateness.

As regards transcriptional probability there can be no doubt. There is little likelihood that the various reading originated in a mere scribal error, for no suggestion yet made has explained the presence of τὸν in *ver.* 17 between Ἰησοῦν and Βαραββᾶν on the hypothesis of a mere accidental reduplication of letters, and this τὸν is an integral part of the longer reading. If both the prisoners in Pilate's hand bore the name *Jesus*, it is natural that he should distinguish them, one as τὸν B., the other as τὸν λεγόμενον X. Moreover the ordinary reading has in it nothing to induce change, while the fact that nearly all the supporters of 'Jesus bar Abba' have had the name erased is in itself enough to shew that it was only too likely to provoke alteration.

Westcott and Hort rejected the reading 'Jesus bar Abba' very largely on the ground of authority. "It is against all analogy," they say (*Notes*, p. 20), "that a true reading should be preserved in no better Greek ms than the common original of 1-118-209, and in none of the more ancient versions." But this is no longer an accurate presentation of

the textual evidence. The definite statement of Barsalibi and Bar Bahlul as to the reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (see above, p. 178) has now been confirmed by the direct evidence of *S*. Thus the Old Syriac is on the side of the reading rejected by Westcott and Hort. *D* and the Latins are, as a matter of fact, for the ordinary reading and their evidence shews us why no evidence for it comes from our Diatessaron texts: right or wrong, the omission here of the name 'Jesus' is attested by the Western texts, among which must be counted Tatian's Harmony. On the other hand, the presence of τὸν before Βαραββᾶν in *B* and in Origen shews the neutrality of compromise (see above, p. 233*f.*). The word τὸν is an integral part of the reading 'Jesus bar Abba,' and its presence in *B* tells us that *B* is descended from a ms which once had had the longer reading, but from which Ἰησοῦν had been intentionally deleted. The same is almost certainly true of Origen's ms, though here his own comment suggests that he cut the name out himself on considerations which seemed to him to commend themselves on internal grounds, though the omission was not supported by most of the mss known to him. He says *In multis exemplaribus non continetur quod Barabbas etiam Iesus dicebatur et forsitan recte, ut ne nomen Iesu conueniat alicui iniquorum. In tanta enim multitudine scripturarum neminem scimus Iesum peccatorem.....Et puto quod in haeresibus tale aliquid superadditum est.*

As regards internal evidence, we may consider the reading in the light of the general Synoptic problem and from the point of view of style. It has always been conceded that calling Barabbas 'Jesus' gave point to *vv.* 16, 17, but it was held that this could not be the true reading because the antithesis in *vv.* 20 and 26 is between τὸν Βαραββᾶν and τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Is not this to ignore the fact that the First Gospel is, in the Passion at least, a secondary document based on *S*. Mark with additions inserted here and there? *S*. Mark knows nothing of the name Jesus Barabbas, consequently in Matt xxvii 26 we read ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν...παρέδωκεν, in agreement with Mk xv 15. But it is in accordance with the first Evangelist's practice occasionally to insert names where none were given by his source. The obvious instances are the introduction of the name Matthew for Levi the publican (Matt ix 9), and the name Caiaphas for the High Priest (Matt xxvi 3, 57). If the Evangelist really got the name 'Jesus Barabbas' from an independent source, it may very well have been the source which furnished him with the story of the dream of Pilate's wife, an episode inserted by him into the Marcan narrative only two verses away from the passage we are considering (Matt xxvii 19). As for the antithesis between τὸν Βαραββᾶν and τὸν Ἰησοῦν in *vv.* 20, 26, it is not surprising that to the Christian narrator the antithesis should be between 'Barabbas' and 'Jesus': the point of the antithesis in *ver.* 17, between 'Jesus Barabbas' and 'Jesus called Christ,' is that it is placed in the mouth of Pilate. Pilate asks in fact 'Which of these two Jews with very similar names do you want me to let go?' This is an appropriate remark for the Roman Governor, but it would not be used by the Evangelist in his own person.

It only remains to add that ישוע בר אבא 'Jesus bar Abba' is a perfectly appropriate name for a Jew living in the 1st cent. AD. Several persons mentioned in the Talmud have the name Joshua or Jesus, and several are called Bar Abba after the name of their father. For instance, חייא בר אבא is cited in Talm. B. *Berachoth* iv 3, etc.

**xxvii 43** For ܠܐܡ ܕܠܒܝܐ ܐܡ I conjecture the true reading of *S* to be ܠܐܡ ܕܠܒܝܐ ܐܡ ܠ: see vol. i, p. 544, vol. ii, p. 76. The photograph of *S* is here unfortunately blurred.

**xxvii 50** In the *Martyrdom of Habbib* (ASD 84) we read: "they brought faggots and set them in order and placed them on all sides of him, and when the fire burnt up and the flames ascended fiercely they called out to him 'Open thy mouth.' And the moment he opened his mouth ܡܬܬܝܠܐ ܕܐܡܐ ܕܠܒܝܐ his soul had mounted up."

The Peshitta has here ܡܬܬܝܠܐ ܕܐܡܐ, a literal translation of ἀφῆκεν τὸ πνεῦμα. The idea underlying the story of Habbib and the ܡܬܬܝܠܐ ܕܐܡܐ of *S* in this passage seems to be that touched upon in Eccl iii 21, xii 7.

**xxviii 19** In the Commentary on the Diatessaron (*Moesinger* 226), in the middle of comments on the promise of the Paraclete (Joh xvi 7) Ephraim observes: "And that he saith 'Go ye into all the world, and baptize them in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Spirit.' And he said not 'In the Name of the Father and in the Name of the Son and in the Name of the Spirit' that he might make it manifest that They are One Nature, who in one Name there named Three Persons."

The last clause is rather confused, but manifestly the evidence of Ephraim confirms that of Addai 20 (quoted in vol. i, pp. 172, 173), and that the Diatessaron attests the ordinary text of Matt xxviii 19. The evidence of the Syriac *Theophania* (see above, pp. 171, 172) seems to indicate that the ordinary text was also generally current in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*.

## S. MARK.

**i 13** ܐܬܝܬܐ 'there.' On the reading, see p. 248.

**i 41** On the reading, see p. 192*f*.

**ii 27** 'created.' On the rendering, see p. 197.

**iii 17** ܕܡܝܬܐ is the consonantal spelling of the Syriac transliteration of 'Boanerges,' both in *S* and in syr.vg. How ܡܝܬܐ was intended to be vocalised it is impossible to say with certainty. It has no meaning in Syriac; the Nestorian pronunciation is *Raysh* (with final *y* mute)<sup>1</sup>, but the Jacobite is *R'γesh*. At the same time it is hardly likely that a *y* would be added at the end, which was neither intended to be pronounced nor represented a letter in the Greek.

It is, I venture to think, conceivable that the Syriac translator connected ΒΟΑΝΗΡΕΣ (or ΒΑΝΗΡΕΣ) with ܡܝܬܐ as used in 1 Kings xviii 41 by the Peshitta, where ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ stands for the 'sound of abundance of rain.' ܡܝܬܐ, on this supposition, may have been intended to be pronounced *R'γushai*, the theoretical 'absolute' of ܡܝܬܐ (*Duval*, §253*a*): cf ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ Matt xxvii 8 *S*. In making this suggestion as to the origin of the Syriac transliteration, nothing is assumed as to the real meaning of the word or the spelling originally used by the Evangelist.

**iv 11** On the form ܡܝܬܐ for ܡܝܬܐ, see pp. 53*f*. The reference to Dan vii 14 should be deleted from the foot-note to vol. i, p. 182; it is explained in vol. ii, p. 54, that ܡܝܬܐ is not really a passive form but a contracted participle.

**iv 17** The reading of *S* is certainly ܡܝܬܐ (as in Matt xiii 21), but here as elsewhere there is no diacritic point to distinguish the fem. *bāh* from the masc. *beh*. It is evident however from the pointing of *C* in Lk viii 13 that *bāh* is intended here. The shallow folk receive the Word but have no root in it—a curious inversion of the figure of the Parable, because the Word is what is sown, not the soil.

**v 8** ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ is the reading of *S*, making the false concord of a masculine verb with a feminine adjective. In the parallel passage Lk viii 29 both *S* and *C* have ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܡܝܬܐ, in the masc. It is of course possible that in that verse ܡܝܬܐ has replaced an original ܡܝܬܐ and that in Mk v 8 ܡܝܬܐ is a mere slip for ܡܝܬܐ, but elsewhere in the Gospels ܡܝܬܐ is so generally feminine that it is worth while to call attention to the exceptions.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Gwilliam gives ܡܝܬܐ (i.e. *Rayshi*) as the reading of the Nestorian Massoretic ms, but the dot under the ܡ may be only a sign of interpunction.



vi 49<sup>a</sup> ܡܠܬܐ is probably a mere blunder of transcription for ܡܠܬܐ as suggested on p. 55.

vi 49<sup>b</sup> The use of ܕܝܬܐ 'devil' as an equivalent for φάντασμα has a curious echo in the famous saying of our Lord quoted by Ignatius and taken according to Jerome from the 'Nazarene' Gospel ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. It is obvious that the saying goes back to a Semitic origin and that the original word corresponding to δαιμόνιον was ܕܝܬܐ. The same may be said of πνεῦμα in Lk xxiv 39: in fact all three Greek words, πνεῦμα, δαιμόνιον, φάντασμα, exactly represent our popular use of 'ghost' for a disembodied but more or less visible spirit.

In Mk vi 49 and Matt xiv 26, however, the Peshitta rejects this popular usage of φάντασμα in favour of the etymologically correct signification, i.e. the 'appearance' of something not actually there. No doubt it seemed an offence, both here and in Lk xxiv 39, to use ܕܝܬܐ of our Lord.

vii 4 The abruptness of ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσωνται οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν invites paraphrase and addition. The usual interpretation, adopted even by the English Bible, is 'when they come from the market-place, except they wash themselves, they eat not.' This is followed by D 472 and the Old Latin, together with the Armenian; it is also implied by S and the Peshitta, for ܠܝܬܐ has only a middle or passive sense. On the other hand, the Arabic Diatessaron (cap. xx 20) has 'they used not to eat what is sold from the market, except they washed it.'

The natural inference is that the Arabic Diatessaron here preserves the independent interpretation or paraphrase of Tatian, but closer investigation will shew that this view is hardly tenable. In the first place the Armenian evidence raises a presumption that the usual view of the construction was that current on Syriac-speaking ground in early times. What is more cogent still is the fact that the interpretation found in the Arabic Diatessaron is that found in all the Arabic Gospel-texts of the middle ages, e.g. in Erpenius, in Lagarde, and even in De Sacy's bilingual Syro-Carshunic edition (Paris, 1824). From the Arabic, no doubt, it has found its way into Aethiopic, in strict accordance with Guidi's theory.

The source of this Arabic interpretation of the passage may have been the Egyptian versions, for the Bohairic has 'if they do not wash them from the market, they do not eat,' and the Sahidic 'but what is from the market, except they sprinkle them, they do not eat.' In these sentences the word 'them' may refer either to what is brought from the market or the 'hands' mentioned in the preceding verse. In any case the interpretation adopted in the Arabic Diatessaron was the natural one for a mediaeval Arabic writer to adopt, and until some Syriac evidence appears to confirm it, there is no reason why we should imagine it to have had any real connexion with Tatian or his Harmony.

vii 19 ܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ. I have marked the end of this verse in my translation as possibly corrupt, but perhaps there is no mistake. The common word for 'meat' or 'food' is ܠܝܬܐ. The word here used (ܠܝܬܐ) cannot be the absolute of ܠܝܬܐ, because ܠܝܬܐ is fem. and ܠܝܬܐ, like ܠܝܬܐ, is masc. Besides, after ܡܠܬܐ the absolute state would hardly be used. I find, however, that the much rarer masc. word ܠܝܬܐ, which stands for βρώσις in Rom xiv 17, is actually used in

the sing. for βρώματα in Heb ix 10. It is probably therefore intended here. In any case it is clear that the Old Syriac did not read καθάρζων, though it is not easy to see how a passive meaning can be extracted from any of the recorded variants.

**vii 26** ܐܘܪܬܐ 'widow' is of course a Syriac miswriting of ܐܘܪܬܐ 'Gentile.' ܐܘܪܬܐ is literally 'Aramaean,' but the word is regularly used for 'Gentile' or 'Heathen,' as opposed to 'Jew.' Thus in Rom i 14 Ἑλληνσίν τε καὶ βαρβάροις is rendered ܐܘܪܬܐ ܕܢܥܡܐ (*lit.* 'Ionians and Barbarians'), but in Rom i 16 Ἰουδαίῳ τε καὶ Ἑλληνί is rendered ܐܘܪܬܐ ܕܢܥܡܐ...ܐܘܪܬܐ ܕܢܥܡܐ (*lit.* 'whether Jews or Aramaeans').

The confusion in Mk vii 26 between 'widow' and 'Syrian' becomes of particular interest in view of Wellhausen's conjecture (GGN 1895, i 12), that when we read in Lk iv 26 that though there were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah, unto none of them was he sent but only to Sarepta, unto a woman that was a widow, we are to believe that in the original Aramaic our Lord had said that unto none of the widows in Israel was Elijah sent but only to Sarepta, unto the woman that was a heathen (ܐܘܪܬܐ for ܐܘܪܬܐ). For other instances of apparent palaeographical confusion in the Syriac Bible, see on Lk ii 30.

The Συροφονίκισσα τῇ γένει is rendered in S by

ܐܘܪܬܐ ܕܢܥܡܐ ܕܢܥܡܐ

i.e. Συρο- was derived from *Sor*, the Hebrew and Syriac name for Tyre, which appears in some parts of the LXX as Σόρ. This of course is impossible etymology, though it agrees very well with Matt xv 22. The district called Συροφονίκη in the 2nd century was sufficiently large to include Damascus (Justin, *Tryph* § 78), but doubtless the Evangelist meant nothing more than that the woman was neither a Jewess nor one of the Greek-speaking townsfolk. The Peshitta has ܐܘܪܬܐ ܕܢܥܡܐ from *Phoenicia of Syria*, i.e. 'from that part of Syria which is called Phoenicia.' This is necessarily vague, like the Greek. Later Oriental students of the Bible tried to be more precise. The usual Arabic texts of the Gospel (e.g. Erpenius's and Lagarde's) say that the woman was a Greek Syrian from the Jordan Valley (جنسها من الغور), possibly through some confusion with the woman who had an issue, whom Eusebius asserts to have come from Paneas. Barsalibi, on the other hand, understands the Peshitta to mean the district known in early Byzantine times as Syria II, between Apamea and Caesarea (mod. Shaizar). A similar line is followed in *Diat<sup>ar</sup>* xx 48, which says the woman was من حمص الشام from *Emesa of Syria*, i.e. from a district which was also called *Phenice Libani* as distinguished from Phoenicia proper on the sea coast. That this would be a natural interpretation from the 4th century onward may be seen from the Note upon the relics of apostles, etc. in the Cod. Fuldensis (6th cent.), where we read

*caput iohannis baptistae in prouincia phenicae ciuitate emetza.*

Thus there is no reason to suppose that the statement in *Diat<sup>ar</sup>* xx 48, connecting the Syrophenician woman with Emesa, rests on 'tradition' or that it ever stood in the Syriac Diatessaron. It is merely an interpretation of the geographical expression by which the Peshitta rendered the Greek Συροφονίκισσα (or Σύρα Φοινίκισσα).

**vii 33** For a discussion of the readings, see pp. 127 f.

**viii 23** The photograph is here illegible and *S*<sup>ed</sup> has ܠܐܠܗܐ \* \* ܠܐܠܗܐ. Probably this is nothing more than a mere error of transcription, and we should read ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ, a sufficiently good rendering of εἰ τι βλέπεις;

**viii 25** With regard to the word to be supplied, the Greek is καὶ διέβλεψεν καὶ ἀπεκατέστη καὶ ἐνέβλεπεν for which *k* has *et uidit et restitutus est ut uideret*. The Armenian has 'he pierced and was seeing, he recovered and was seeing'; in fact, the Peshitta stands practically alone in omitting a verb to correspond with διέβλεψεν.

**viii 32** 'as if pitying him,' or 'as if sparing him.' The reading of *S* was also current in the Diatessaron, for Ephraim (*Moesinger* 156) says 'And when he was pitying him, as at the first when he said *Be it far from thee!*...' The confusion between ܠܐܠܗܐ and ܠܐܠܗܐ belongs therefore to the Arabic Diatessaron only, not to the earlier Syriac form.

It should be noted that there is really a confusion between three words, *viz.* (1) ܠܐܠܗܐ, i.e. *absit*, a word corresponding to the Arabic حاشا ܠܐܠܗܐ; (2) ܠܐܠܗܐ, pres. part. of ܠܐܠܗܐ 'to pity,' or 'spare,' ܠܐܠܗܐ; (3) ܠܐܠܗܐ, pres. part. of ܠܐܠܗܐ, 'to suffer,' ܠܐܠܗܐ. If any other evidence were forthcoming, we might perhaps take ܠܐܠܗܐ, the reading of *S*, to be a denominative from ܠܐܠܗܐ *absit*, and translate ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ 'as if saying *Be it far from Thee!* over Him.'

Dr Edwin Abbott has most appropriately pointed out to me that a similar confusion between these roots is found in Eccl ii 25, where the mysterious ܠܐܠܗܐ is rendered φείσεται by Aquila and Symmachus and some texts of LXX, but in the Targum by ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ.

**ix 1** ܠܐܠܗܐ, i.e. 'those that stand' (= τῶν ἐστηκότων). A comparison with Joh xi 41<sup>a</sup> makes it clear that the sense intended is simply 'the by-standers,' for in that verse ἦσαν οὖν τὸν λίθον is rendered by *S* ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ, i.e. 'then those folk standing *by* drew near *and* lifted the stone.' A similar instance is to be found in Joh xviii 22. But the use of ܠܐܠܗܐ for ἐνεστῶτα in 1 Cor iii 22 seemed sufficiently near to justify a reference.

**ix 12** On Syriac renderings for 'cross,' see on Lk xxiv 7.

**ix 15** For a discussion of the reading of Diat<sup>ar</sup> xxiv 26, see p. 193.

**ix 50** ܠܐܠܗܐ must be a miswriting of ܠܐܠܗܐ, and perhaps it would be better to take it as 1st pers. pl., i.e. 'wherewith shall *we* season it?'

**x 11, 12** On the reading, see p. 250, and the present writer's *Note* in the *Journ. of Theol. Studies* v 628—630.

**x 25** The use of ܠܐܠܗܐ by *A*<sup>a</sup> is very curious: it is one of the many proofs that this ms often preserves the text of Aphraates better than the slightly older ms *A*<sup>b</sup> + *A*<sup>b</sup>, preferred by Wright. In this passage, is it possible that ܠܐܠܗܐ is connected with the τάχειον which is substituted for εὐκοπώτερον in D<sup>gr</sup>?

**x 50** On the reading, see p. 250.

**xi 3** On the reading, see p. 122, note.

**xii 14** On ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, see p. 82.

**xii 42** On the Syriac renderings, see pp. 128, 129, and the Note on Lk ii 30.

**xiii 28** ܕܠܚܝܬܐ *S* (*sic*): see pp. 46 and 51, note.

In v. 25 read ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ for ܠܚܝܬܐ, and in v. 27 read ܠܚܝܬܐ for ܠܚܝܬܐ: see vol. i, p. 547, and vol. ii, p. 45.

**xiv 24** This is the only place where a pre-Peshitta text has 'my blood of the new covenant.' In Matt xxvi 28 *S* and *A*<sup>a</sup> 221 have ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, and the same words are added by *S* to Lk xxii 17. No other ms of Aphraates is extant at Wright 221 except *A*<sup>a</sup>: the reading ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ in Wright's text is conjectural only. In Matt xxvi 28 Gwilliam's 20, and in Mk xiv 24 Gwilliam's 14 15, have ܕܡܝܬܐ for ܕܡܝܬܐ.

**xiv 63** 'our witnesses': see on Matt xv 2.

**xv 8** On the reading, see p. 225.

**xv 29** On ܐܠܗܐ, see p. 29 and *Nöldeke* § 9.

**xvi 3, 4** On the reading of *S*, see pp. 241*f.*, 250.

[**Mk**] **xvi 17—20** That the original form of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* omitted the 'Longer Conclusion' to S. Mark, *viz.* xvi 9—20, is proved by the absence of the verses from *S*: see *Introd.* pp. 194, 208*f.* The object of this Note is to point out that the renderings in the Peshitta text of [Mk] xvi 9—20 shew the influence of the Diatessaron, while *C* represents an independent rendering from the Greek, a rendering in which the style of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* has been to a considerable extent abandoned.

*ver.* 17 ܕܥܝܢܐ] ܕܥܝܢܐ 'demons' *C*; ܕܥܝܢܐ 'devils' syr.vg and Aphraates 21. The word ܕܥܝܢܐ never occurs in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* except in S. John, but it has been occasionally substituted for ܕܥܝܢܐ in syr.vg. The tendency in later times was thus to introduce ܕܥܝܢܐ and to get rid of ܕܥܝܢܐ: the presence therefore of ܕܥܝܢܐ in syr.vg suggests that the text of syr.vg is here an adaptation from a previously existing Syriac text, and the quotation in Aphraates shews that this text was the Diatessaron.



ver. 18 βλάψῃ] ܠܥܐ 'hurt' C; ܝܥܐ 'injure' syr.vg. In Lk iv 35, the only other passage in the Gospels where βλάπτειν occurs, S has ܝܥܐ while syr.vg has ܥܝܥܐ. The rendering of syr.vg in this verse thus agrees with Old Syriac usage against that of C.

ver. 19 ἀνελήμφθη] ܠܥܬܐ 'he was taken up' C; ܥܠܐ 'he went up' syr.vg and Aphraates 406, 409. ܠܥܬܐ only occurs in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in Lk xiv 10 (and in the parallel Matt xx 28 C), where it corresponds to προσαναβαίνεισθαι. But 'he went up' is also found in an Old Latin text of this verse, viz. the fragment called *o*, which is a 'supply' of the 7th cent. to Cod. Sangallensis (*n*) and represents, as I venture to think, the same type of text.

ver. 20 τοῦ κυρίου συνεργούντος] C has ܒܐ ܠܕܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ 'the LORD being with them in all'; syr.vg has ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ 'and our Lord was helping them.' This is much too free a rendering to have been coined for the first time in the age of Rabbula, and we may conjecture the phrase to have stood in the Diatessaron. Here again the rendering can be paralleled from Western authorities, for all the Old Latin texts of this passage which survive, *c*, *o* and *q*, have *Domino adiuuante*, not *Domino cooperante* as in the Vulgate.

Finally we may notice a curious turn in the Peshitta of [Mk] xvi 11 which must have been derived from a Gospel Harmony. The Greek has κἀκεῖνοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ἔζη καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἠπίστησαν, but in syr.vg we find

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ

*And they, when they heard that the women say that He was alive and had appeared to them, did not believe them.*

Thus, instead of a reference to Mary Magdalene alone, the text is made to speak of the other women also. But the alteration was almost unavoidable according to the scheme of the Diatessaron, which placed [Mk] xvi 11 between Lk xxiv 10 and 11<sup>a</sup>, verses which speak of Joanna and Mary the mother of James as well as of Mary Magdalene. No Old Latin text has here been influenced by the Diatessaron, but Cod. Fuldensis adds *eis* at the end of the verse.

## S. LUKE.

**i 1-4** S. Luke's Preface, as might be anticipated, affords evidence both of the common origin of the Peshitta and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and of their frequent divergence. The opening words ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ are a sufficiently bald rendering of Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν to establish at once a literary connexion between "syr.vt" and "syr.vg," but the two differ as to the meaning of πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν. In *S* this is rendered by 'completed among us,' as in the text of the English Revised Version; syr.vg has ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ, i.e. 'the things of which we are fully persuaded,' in agreement with the English Bible and Rom xiv 5.

**i 46, 56** Who spoke the *Magnificat*? According to most authorities, comprising all Greek mss and many Latins, including Tertullian *De Anima* 26 (expressly), it was spoken by Mary; according to *a b l\** and Irenaeus<sup>lat</sup> 235 (not 185) the *Magnificat* was spoken by Elisabeth<sup>1</sup>. In favour of this view might be urged the αὐτῇ of *ver.* 56: we read there that 'Mary' remained with 'her,' a use of the pronoun which indicates that Elisabeth and not Mary was the previous speaker. It is therefore important to notice

- (i) that *S* and *A* 180 and syr.vg read *Mary* in i 46;
- (ii) that *S* and syr.vg get rid of the difficulty in i 56 by reading 'Mary remained by Elisabeth.'

No other authorities follow the Syriac here, but the fact that the Syriac has inserted the proper name for the pronoun in *ver.* 56 helps to recommend the conjecture that the true text of *ver.* 46 had καὶ εἶπεν without Μαριάμ.

**i 49<sup>b</sup>, 50** The translation given on p. 249 is inaccurate: it should read 'He, whose Name of mercy is glorified and holy unto ages and for generations to them that fear Him' (or 'by them that fear Him').

It is remarkable how different the rhythm of the Syriac is from that which is familiar to us: the impression left on my mind by the text of *S* is that the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was not accustomed to any liturgical use of the *Magnificat*.

**ii 10** ܠܠܗܝܐ ܕܡܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ to all the world: Gr. παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. This translation recalls the Babylonian-Jewish Aramaic ܠܠܗܝܐ ܕܡܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ, meaning 'every one' (Dalman's *Worte Jesu* 144), just as εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον is used in Mk xiv 9 in the same sense. The Greek itself, like the Galilean Aramaic ܠܠܗܝܐ ܕܡܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ ܕܝܗܝܐ, means 'every one,' as in Lk viii 47, xviii 43, xx 6, 45. The fact that in none of these latter cases the Syriac has ܠܠܗܝܐ makes it likely that ܠܠܗܝܐ in Lk ii 10 is only a corruption of ܠܠܗܝܐ, or rather that it is one

<sup>1</sup> Niceta of Remesiana, the author of the *Te Deum*, also ascribes the authorship of the *Magnificat* to Elisabeth in his tract *De Bono Psalmodyae* (ed. Burn, pp. 76, 79).

of the curious set of more or less intentional changes discussed in the Note below. Matt i 21 is different, for there *C* differs from *S* in the suffix as well as in having ܠܚܕ for ܠܚܕ.

ii 14 ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *S*: see pp. 41, 80.

ii 30 ܡܠܝܬܐ *Thy Mercy* is the reading of *S*, of syr.vg, of Ephraim (see above, p. 129, and *Moes.* 28). The Greek is τὸ σωτήριόν σου, so that according to Syriac Biblical usage we should have expected ܡܠܝܬܐ *Thy Life* (see p. 81). The correction is easy and obvious, and yet it is not made by any extant Syriac text.

The fact is that the substitution of ܡܠܝܬܐ for ܡܠܝܬܐ in this passage is only one of a series of readings, which taken together make up one of the most curious features of the Syriac version. The ample attestation of the phrase from the *Nunc dimittis* in our Syriac authorities makes it a convenient point for noticing the general question.

In the following passages a slight change in the transmitted text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* would bring it into conformity with the Greek. Passages marked with \* are those in which the Peshitta follows the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* against the Greek. Proper names such as ܝܫܬܐܝܝܠ (Lk iii 36) are not included.

\* Matt viii 4 ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *to the priests*: Gr. τῶ ἱερεῖ. The plural points do not happen to be legible in *S*, but they are found in *C* and in all the MSS of syr.vg.

\* Matt ix 36 ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *let loose*: Gr. ἐπιμύνοι. The obvious correction, viz. ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ 'cast,' is made in the Harclean but not in any MS of syr.vg. Compare ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ Ps ii 3 (*sic*), according to all the MSS.

Mk vii 26 ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *widow*: Gr. Ἑλληνίς. Instead of the obvious correction ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *heathen*, syr.vg reads ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ 'pagan.'

Mk xii 38, Lk xx 46 ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *in porches*: Gr. ἐν στολαῖς. Here syr.vg has ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *in robes*, as we should expect.

Mk xii 42 ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *two pounds* (so syr.vg and Ephraim): Gr. λεπτά δύο. Here *S* is different. The reading of syr.vg, which is doubtless that of the Diatessaron, appears to be a corruption of ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *two farthings*, according to Professor Bevan's suggestion, given above on p. 129.

\* Lk ii 10 ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *to all the world*: Gr. παντὶ τῷ λαῷ (see the Note above).

\* Lk ii 30 ܡܠܝܬܐ *Thy Mercy*: Gr. τὸ σωτήριόν σου (see above).

(\*) Lk iv 19 ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *S*, ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ syr.vg, [to] *strengthen*: Gr. ἀποστεῖλαι. We should have expected ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *to send*, as in the Harclean. Here *S* and syr.vg actually differ in the form of the verb, and yet agree against the Greek in what, if it had stood alone, we should have dismissed as the mere blunder of a Syriac scribe: see further the Note on Lk iv 19 and the remarkable parallel afforded by Ps xlv 2 syr.vg.

\* Lk xix 20 ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ *in a cloth*: Gr. ἐν σουδαρίῳ (not ἐν σινδόνι). In the other three places where σουδάριον occurs (Joh xi 44, xx 7; Ac xix 12) it is rendered by ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ, while ܠܚܕܐܝܬܐ should correspond with σινδών, as in Mk xiv 51.

Lk xx 46, see above on Mk xii 38.

\* Lk xxiv 32 ܕܝܠܗܝ *heavy*: Gr. καιομένη. The obvious emendation is ܕܝܠܗܝ *burning*, which is adopted by the Harclean.

I have not included in this list the confusions between ܕܝܠܗܝ *to inherit* and ܕܝܠܗܝ *to gain*, which are to be found in Matt xviii 15 *C*, Mk viii 36 *S*, and apparently in Mk x 17 syr.vg, because in these passages the mss are not unanimous.

The common feature of the eleven passages quoted above is that the Syriac presents a reading which gives a plausible sense but is not a translation of the Greek, while a very slight change in the Syriac letters would produce a reading which is a literal translation of the Greek, though in most cases the translation would read somewhat harsh. It is difficult to avoid the supposition that the original Syriac version of the Gospel, i.e. the Diatessaron, was corrected here and there before publication *without* the help of a Greek ms, and that some at least of the corrections then made in the interests of a smoother diction passed unchanged from the Diatessaron into the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, and from the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* or direct from the Diatessaron into the present Syriac Vulgate. The minute care of Thomas of Heraclea eliminated all these readings from his revised text, but in most instances they leave a trace behind in the citation of the actual Greek words on the margin of the Harclean version.

There is a curious parallel in English to this smoothing down of a Biblical text for the purposes of public worship. When the Psalms first were printed from Coverdale's Bible in the Book of Common Prayer several changes were made, which held their own till 1662. The most striking is that whereby in the 68th Psalm, instead of "praise him in his Name JAH," we read "praise him in his name, *yea*, and rejoice before him." This ingenious emendation, which is of course entirely destitute of any ancient authority, appears to me to afford a very close resemblance to the readings here collected from the earlier Syriac texts.

ii 48 ܕܝܠܗܝ ܕܝܠܗܝ ܕܝܠܗܝ, the reading of *C*, stands for ὀδυνώμενοι καὶ λυπούμενοι as in D *a e f f g l q r gat*. ܕܝܠܗܝ is used for λύπη in Lk xxii 45 by all Syriac texts, so that ܕܝܠܗܝ, i.e. 'in trouble,' corresponds to λυπούμενοι. But when this word was inserted into the ancestor of *C* it was natural to put it before ܕܝܠܗܝ, not after it, because ܕܝܠܗܝ is fem. To put it after ܕܝܠܗܝ would spoil the rhythm and to put it before ܕܝܠܗܝ would sound like a false concord.

For a similar instance, see the Note on Lk xx 34.

iii 1 ܕܝܠܗܝ. On the reading of *S\**, see vol. i, p. 548. The spelling ܕܝܠܗܝ (with ܝ not ܕ), both in ancient and modern times, seems to rest on a popular derivation which connects the name with that of the Patriarch Abel (see G. A. Smith in *Ency. Bibl.* 17).

iii 6 On ܕܝܠܗܝ ܕܝܠܗܝ in *A*, see pp. 81, 205.

iii 7 'coming unto him' *C*, 'coming to him to be baptized' *S*. The Peshitta has ܕܝܠܗܝ ܕܝܠܗܝ, i.e. it agrees with *S* except in the preposition. The ordinary Greek text has βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, the same phrase as in Matt iii 6 and Mk i 5, for which



we should expect in Syriac ܕܢܚܒܐ ܕܢܚܒܐ, or (less probably) ܕܢܚܒܐ ܕܢܚܒܐ as in Lk vii 30. Possibly therefore the disturbing cause is the Western reading βαπτισθῆναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, found in D b e l\* g r. This uncommon phrase is very likely to be genuine: possibly even it stood in the source from which S. Luke took Lk iii 10–15. It seems to present a view of Jewish Baptism in which the penitent administered the rite to himself, as Naaman did.

**iii 23–38** For the general bearing of the Genealogies upon the date of the Syriac N.T., see p. 202. Two names call for special mention here, *viz.* ‘Arphaxad’ (v. 36) and ‘Jared’ (v. 37). With regard to the latter, I thought I saw ܝܪܕ in *S*, but the ms is very indistinct and if *S* really has this reading it can be nothing more than a scribe’s mistake. More likely it is my own blunder. Aphraates 473 has ܝܪܕ, and this is the constant spelling in all other Syriac authorities, both in the Old Testament and in the New. The end of the name corresponding to ‘Arphaxad’ is illegible in *S*, but we cannot doubt that the final consonant was ‘r’ (not ‘d’), as in Aphraates and the mss of the Peshitta, both in O.T. and N.T. The case is somewhat similar to ܕܢܚܒܐ Matt i 13 *SC*, though there both *A* and syr.vg have ܕܢܚܒܐ. In the case of ܕܢܚܒܐ the N.T. Peshitta no doubt retained the (incorrect) final ܝ which it had inherited from the Old Syriac under the influence of the O.T. Peshitta, in the same way that it retained ‘Beelzebub’ with final ‘b.’

It is necessary to emphasise the fact that the Peshitta text of Lk iii 36 really has ܕܢܚܒܐ, because Mr Gwilliam has edited ܕܢܚܒܐ against the evidence of his mss, under the influence of a single ‘Masoretic’ Codex (Mas. 2 = B.M. Add. 12178), which gives in this Genealogy not the Peshitta tradition, but a sophisticated accommodation to Greek spellings. The Nestorian Masoretic Codex (Mas. 1 = B.M. Add. 12138) has ܕܢܚܒܐ, i.e. *Arpaxshâr*, and the same spelling and vocalisation is attested by the other Jacobite Masoretic ms. None of the ancient codices of syr.vg has any vocalisation by the original scribes, but they all have *r* at the end and not *d*, a fact which Mr Gwilliam has unaccountably failed to record.

The Syriac vocalisation of the name we call ‘Jared’ is ܝܪܕ, i.e. *Yard*, with hard *d*. This is a correct transliteration of the Hebrew יָרֵךְ. Mr Gwilliam retains ܝܪܕ, an impossible form, apparently because his favourite Mas. 2 reads ܝܪܕ (sic). Yet ܝܪܕ (Φάρης v. 33) he correctly transliterates ‘Pharts’ (i.e. *Parṣ*).

**iv 2** On the text of the quotation from the *Acts of Thomas*, see pp. 103, 104.

**iv 18** The clause ἀποστείλαι τεθρανσμένους ἐν ἀφέσει is an adaptation of Isaiah lviii 6, inserted into the quotation of Isaiah lxi 1 ff. As is usual with quotations from the O.T. peculiar to S. Luke, the wording is that of the LXX. The O.T. Peshitta of Is lviii 6 is quite different, consequently the various Syriac translators and revisers from Tatian to Rabbula had nothing to influence them but the Greek. Now a perfectly literal and natural rendering of the Greek into Syriac would be

ܕܢܚܒܐ ܕܢܚܒܐ ܕܢܚܒܐ

and to send (away) the broken ones in remission.

This is not so poetical a rendering as that of the English Bible in Lk iv 18, which has 'to set at liberty them that are bruised,' but it is a far more literal version of the awkward Biblical Greek. Consequently when Widmanstadius in the Ed. Princeps of the Peshitta printed

ܠܡܥܝܘܬܐ ܠܬܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

*and to strengthen (or, confirm) the broken ones in remission,*

it seemed obvious that there had been an error of the press. Following Schaff, therefore, the common editions have ܠܡܥܝܘܬܐ, which is also the reading of the Harclean. But the mss of syr.vg support Widmanstadius, and Mr Gwilliam has very properly restored ܠܡܥܝܘܬܐ to the text. No doubt there is an error somewhere, but it is older than our MS tradition, i.e. it goes back to Rabbula.

The evidence goes beyond Rabbula, for *S* has ܝܘܠܥܐ, i.e. *and I will strengthen* (or, *confirm*), a reading which looks like a variation of ܠܡܥܝܘܬܐ made without consulting the Greek. In any case *S* attests the root ܝܘܠ and not the root ܡܥܝ. Thus the 'error' is really primitive and can be traced into the 2nd century, into the very beginnings of the Syriac N.T.

In the Note on Lk ii 30 it was shewn that this error does not stand alone, but that it is one of a series of plausible corrections which taken together seem to indicate that the original Syriac Gospel text was here and there smoothed down before publication.

The same phenomenon also occurs at least twice in the Psalms, in passages which greatly resemble what we find in Lk iv 18. At the end of Ps xlv 3 the Hebrew has ותשלחם 'and Thou didst send away them (i.e. the heathen),' and with this agrees the Greek καὶ ἐξέβαλες αὐτούς. But the mss of syr.vg, instead of reading ܡܥܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ as we should expect, all have ܝܘܠܥܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ 'and Thou didst strengthen them (i.e. the Israelites).' Similarly in Ps ii 3 ונשליכה (Gr. καὶ ἀπορρίψωμεν) is rendered ܡܥܝܘܬܐ by all the mss of syr.vg, not ܝܘܠܥܐ as we should expect: this is exactly parallel to Matt ix 36.

**iv 29** On ܡܪܝܬܐ, see p. 79.

On ܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ and the corresponding words in the Diatessaron, see pp. 130, 183, 197*f*.

**iv 44, v 1** The text of *S* here rests on Professor Bensly's transcript, as emended by Mrs Lewis from what seemed visible in the MS in 1895, the photograph being almost entirely illegible. The text as printed in *Some Pages* runs thus:

ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ  
 ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ  
 ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ  
 ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ  
 ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ  
 ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ ܡܡܝܢ







is to treat it as an independent attempt to avoid "the difficulty of associating the incident with a 'city'" (Westcott and Hort's *Introduction* §143). I do not think it probable that the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* confused πόλιν and πόλις, or that he worked from a Greek text in which the confusion had been made. It is more likely that the text of *S* has been misread, or that the scribe of *S* miswrote the first word, and that instead of ܡܕܢܐ the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* really had ܡܕܢܐ. Codd. 1-118-131-209 and cod. 700 read εἰς τόπον πόλεως καλ. B. This group of mss often preserve a Greek text agreeing with that from which the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was translated, and if we read ܡܕܢܐ *S* will agree verbally with them here.

The reading is important textually, because it is the nearest approach to an attestation by an ancient version of any of the 'conflate' readings which occupy so prominent a position in Dr Hort's theories about the history of the text of the New Testament. The very qualified support which *S* here seems to give to the 'received text' only throws into stronger relief its marked disagreement with the 'received text' in all the other seven cases of conflation which Dr Hort brought forward.

**ix 23** On the spelling ܡܕܢܐ in *S*, see p. 51.


The phrase 'take up his cross daily' seems to have caused difficulty in ancient times. It is omitted by *D a l*, while the decisive word 'daily,' by which the passage in *S. Luke* differs from the parallel passage in the other Gospels, is omitted by the large majority of Greek mss and by every Old Latin text. It is therefore not surprising to find that 'daily' is omitted by *S*, though found in *C* and syr.vg.








The presence of ܡܕܢܐ in syr.vg of course explains the insertion of 'daily' in the Arabic Diatessaron. In the absence of any serious evidence to the contrary, such as a quotation from Aphraates or Ephraim, we may conjecture that the earlier texts of Tatian's Harmony followed the Old Latin in omitting 'daily,' that *S* in omitting the word is following the then current text of the Diatessaron, and finally that *C* here gives us the true reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. That *C* is not corrected from syr.vg is certain, for it has ܡܕܢܐ for καθ' ἡμέραν while syr.vg has ܡܕܢܐ without ܕ; moreover *C* has ܡܕܢܐ for 'his cross' while syr.vg (with *S*) has the more ordinary term ܡܕܢܐ (see the Note on Lk xxiv 7). One ms of syr.vg, Mr Gwilliam's 13, omits ܡܕܢܐ, a fact in which some may be inclined to detect a last echo of the use of the Diatessaron.

The retention of καθ' ἡμέραν in Lk ix 23 is one of the few passages where the so-called 'received text' does not reproduce the reading most current in the later Byzantine Empire. It was doubtless S. Jerome who first introduced in the West the phrase 'take up his cross daily' (Hier. *ad Principiam* i 955), and it was probably the presence of *cotidie* in the Vulgate which led Erasmus to admit καθ' ἡμέραν into the printed text, in agreement with cod. 1 but against the evidence of the common run of Greek authorities.




**ix 35** The reading of *S*, ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ, represents ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος, found here in NB LΞ (1) *a ff l gat aur sah boh arm*. Most documents read ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός as in Matt and Mk, and at the Baptism. The reading of *C*, ܡܕܢܐ ܡܕܢܐ 'My Son and My Beloved,' is evidently derived from a reminiscence of the parallel passages in the Syriac (if not from the Diatessaron itself), rather than from a direct comparison with Greek mss.


Here, as in Joh i 34 and perhaps in Joh iiii 16 the expression 'Chosen Son' has been removed in many texts, so as to avoid a form of words which might favour an 'adoptionist' theory of our Lord's Nature.


**ix 58** For a justification of rendering  in *S* by 'if' or 'though' (and not 'verily'), see p. 73 and the other examples of similar constructions there collected.









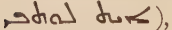


**ix 61** go and shew it] The Greek has ἀποτάσθαι, but it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that *S* and *C* get their rendering from the Latin *renuntiare* or *ire nuntiare*. The verb ἀποτάσσεσθαι is translated in Syriac texts by  'dismiss' in Mk vi 46, 2 Cor ii 13; by  'leave' in Lk xiv 33; and by  'give salaam (or, greeting)' in Ac xviii 18. In Lk ix 61 itself syr.vg has   , i.e. 'that I go and make my salaam,' an admirable rendering of the Greek. In Latin texts of the Gospels *nuntiare* and *renuntiare* (in the sense of 'send back a message') are used where the Greek has ἀπαγγέλλειν and the Syriac  'shew,' e.g. Matt ii 8, xi 4, xiv 12, Mk vi 30, Lk vii 22; while here and in Lk xiv 33 *renuntiare* (in the sense of 'renounce') is used for ἀποτάσσεσθαι. Several Latin texts, including *g*, have here *ire nuntiare*, which is still nearer *S* and *C*. I venture therefore to suggest that the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in Lk ix 61 reproduces the text of the Diatessaron, and that the Diatessaron may have been based in this passage upon a text that had been altered to suit the supposed meaning of the current Latin version<sup>1</sup>.

**ix 62** For Ephraim's quotation, see p. 132.

**x 6** For εἰ δὲ μήγε, *S* has   (*sic*, see vol. i, p. 550). On this use of  for 'else,' see pp. 67, 68 note.

**x 17** On  (*S<sup>ed</sup>*), see p. 48.

**x 34** On  , see p. 43.

**x 41, 42** Apart from general considerations derived from N.T. textual criticism, there can be little doubt that *S* gives here the true reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. The text of *C* appears to be the work of the same clumsy hand that tried to patch up Joh iv 24.      is an unnecessarily awkward rendering of μερμυῆς καὶ τυρβάζγ. The words look like a marginal note (perhaps   ) ( ) which was misread by a scribe when incorporated into the text.  is a mere transliteration of τυρβά(ζευ): it is not a Syriac word.

It should be noted that the δὲ or γὰρ after Μαριὰμ at the beginning of *ver.* 42, which is an integral part of both the longer readings, is not represented in *C* any more than in *S*. See also pp. 219, 242.

**xi 8** On the construction implied in *S<sup>ed</sup>*, see p. 72.

**xi 15** On the spelling of 'Beelzebub,' see p. 204.

**xi 25 f.** The text of *S* can be taken in two ways: either (1) 'when the unclean spirit came, it found the house swept. <sup>26</sup> Then it goeth,' &c.; or (2) 'when the unclean

<sup>1</sup> See also pp. 208, 234, and Dr Rendel Harris's *Study of Codex Bezae*, p. 255.

spirit came *and* found the house swept, <sup>26</sup> then it goeth,' &c. The change of tense at the beginning of *ver.* 26 shews that the apodosis comes there, and that (2) is the right construction.

The general meaning of the whole passage is surely "This is what happened once upon a time to a certain person: even so shall it be to this evil generation," to adapt the phraseology of Matt xii 45<sup>b</sup>. But when it was regarded as a revelation concerning demoniacs and evil spirits it seemed necessary to accentuate the negligence of the unfortunate patient, in order to justify his second seizure. The First Evangelist had added the word *σχολάζοντα*, and this is interpolated into Lk xi 25 by many Greek mss, including B, and apparently Origen. The *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* escaped this corruption, but attained the same result by giving a hypothetical turn to the whole figure, both here and in Matt xii 43<sup>ff</sup>.

**xi 33** On the reading of *S*, see p. 251. This passage is one of the few where the mosaic of the Diatessaron appears to be better preserved in the Latin *Codex Fuldensis* than in Ciasca's Arabic. The Arabic (viii 42) presents only a simple transcript of Matt v 15, but *fuld* (p. 46) has *Neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio neque sub lecto NEQUE IN LOCO ABSCONDITO neque sub uaso sed super candelabrum ut et luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt*. The foundation of this also is Matt v 15 (*italics*), but what is in small capitals comes from Lk xi 33 and what is in ordinary type corresponds to Lk viii 16. The 'bushel,' the 'bed,' and the 'concealed place' are mentioned by *A* 14 in this order, which is doubtless that of Tatian. The 'bushel' is rightly omitted by *S* in Lk xi 33: it is a detail that belongs to Matt and Mk, not to Lk. It has been interpolated into *C* as into most Greek mss, but the Greek mss put it after the 'concealed place,' while in *C* it comes before.

**xi 35, 36** The best Western mss (*D a b e ff i r*) simply substitute Matt vi 23<sup>b</sup> for these somewhat obscure verses. *C* has Lk xi 35, but substitutes Matt vi 23<sup>b</sup> for the following verse. The Latin Vulgate and *f* have the ordinary text, but *f* adds at the end a form of Lk xi 36 agreeing with *S*. The remaining Latin ms *q* agrees with *S*.

The three aberrant texts run as follows:—

<i>S</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>f</i>
Thy body also, therefore what time there is in it no lamp that shineth, becometh darkened; so what time thy lamp be- cometh bright, it shineth for thee.	si ergo corpus tuum lucernam non habens lucidam  obscurum est quanto magis cum lucerna luceat  inluminat te.	si enim corpus quod in te est lucernam non habuerit lucentem tibi tenebrosa est quanto magis autem lucerna tua fulgens  lucebit tibi.

A comparison of these three texts with the ordinary Greek suggests that the common original may have been *εἰ οὖν τὸ σῶμά σου λύχνον φωτεινὸν μὴ ἔχον ἐστὶ σκοτεινόν, οὕτως (or, πόσω μᾶλλον) ὅταν ὁ λύχνος ἀσπράξη φωτίζη σε*. But I fear that I cannot claim that this is much more lucid than the obscurity of the *Received Text* of the verse.

See also p. 243.



**xii 5** The spelling ܡܠ (for ܡܠܐ 'yea') here found in *S* occurs now and then elsewhere, *e.g.* in the colophon to the upper writing of the Sinai Palimpsest itself (ܡܠܐ ܡܠ ܡܠ fol. 181). But the normal spelling ܡܠܐ occurs several times in *S*, so that this passage is not decisive evidence for the meaning of ܡܠ in Lk ix 58 *S*.

**xii 19** For the readings of Ephraim, see p. 133; for the *Book of Martyrs*, see p. 157.

**xii 31** The first letter of ܡܠܐ appears to me to have been erased from the text of *S*, before the ms became a palimpsest. It is now quite illegible.

**xii 36** The allusion to this verse in *Thos*<sup>315</sup> is discussed on p. 103.

**xii 45, 46** On the construction here found both in *S* and in *C*, see p. 71.

**xii 46** The use of the word διχοτομεῖν in this verse and in the parallel Matt xxiv 51 affords one of the strongest arguments that the common source of Matt and Lk was in Greek. Such an exceedingly peculiar punishment as dichotomy is out of place here, and the word is probably a mere misrendering of some Aramaic equivalent for the Biblical כרת 'to cut off.'

The difficulty appears to have been felt by *S* or its ancestor, but the remedy attempted was to connect διχοτομήσει with τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ. But the corrector's marks seem to have been misunderstood, and so we get ܡܠܐܡܐ ܡܠܐܡܐ ܡܠܐܡܐ instead of ܡܠܐܡܐ ܡܠܐܡܐ ܡܠܐܡܐ, i.e. feminine suffixes.

**xii 55** On the significance of Ephraim's quotation, see pp. 134, 148, 192.

**xiii 10, 11** On the construction, see pp. 69, 70.

**xiii 34** Instances where the contracted forms are used with pronouns of the 2nd person are collected on p. 42.

**xiv 15** ܡܠܐܡܐ 'breakfast' corresponds to ἄριστον. On the reading, see p. 225.

**xiv 16-24** For the allusions in *Thos*<sup>315</sup> and in Aphraates, see pp. 101, 102.

**xiv 34** The point in *S* after ܡܠܐܡܐ is anomalous. It is possibly meant to indicate that the final ܡ is audible. In Matt v 13 we find ܡܠܐܡܐ so written in *C*, and similarly *A*<sup>b</sup> in Wright, pp. 271 *bis*, 333 *bis*, 335, 457.

**xv 7** 'more than *over*.' On this curiously loose Syriac construction, see p. 60.

**xv 16** On the 'husks of the sea,' see p. 82. It should be noticed that in this verse *S* supports the ordinary Greek reading γεμίσει τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτοῦ, which is also that of lateur, while *C* appears to attest the χορτασθῆναι of NBD 1-131 13&c *e.f.* The distribution of the evidence suggests that *S* represents the text of the Diatessaron in this passage. See also on xvi 21.

**xvi 11** On the particle ܡܠܐ, see p. 50.

**xvi 21** Note that *S* translates χορτασθῆναι here by 'fill his belly,' probably under the influence of xv 16. From the same verse comes the clause 'No man was giving to him,' found in Aphraates, in the Ferrar Group and in a few Latin mss. It is hardly necessary to postulate direct corruption from the Diatessaron in such a case as this.



**xvi 24** ܡܚܝܢ 'his finger' is found in *S* and syr.vg, in agreement with the Greek τοῦ δακτύλου αὐτοῦ. A 383 paraphrases, but in *A* 43 and in Eph. *Lamy* iv 381 we find ܡܚܝܢ 'his little finger,' a picturesque rendering which must certainly come from the Diatessaron. See above, pp. 136, 184.

**xvi 25.** On the rendering of παρακαλεῖται, see pp. 136, 196.

**xvii 7** ܠܡܥܠ occurs here only in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*: see pp. 57, 78.

**xvii 10** On ܠܡܥܠ, here translated 'riff-raff,' see p. 82 *f*.

**xvii 11** The Greek has διήρχετο διὰ μέσον Σαμαρίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας, to which the Old Latin (but not *D* or lat.vg) adds *et Hiericho*. The Syriac for the town 'Samaria' is ܣܡܪܝܐ (Joh iv 7), but for the *district* 'Samaria' we find ܠܡܥܠ ܕܥܡ ܣܡܪܝܐ, i.e. 'the land of the Samaritans.' Now ܕܥܡ also means 'between,' so that the logically accurate Syriac for 'between Samaria and Galilee' would be ܠܡܥܠ ܠܡܥܠ ܕܥܡ ܣܡܪܝܐ ܕܥܡ ܕܥܡ ܕܥܡ. But such a doubling of the ܕܥܡ was felt to be awkward, and the actual reading of syr.vg is ܠܡܥܠ ܠܡܥܠ ܕܥܡ ܣܡܪܝܐ ܕܥܡ ܕܥܡ.

If we translate without reference to the Greek we can render this 'he was crossing Samaria to Galilee,' which is geographically improbable and is open to the objection that 'to cross' is generally, though not invariably, followed by ܕܥܡ or ܕܥܡ to express 'over.' If on the other hand we feel that ܕܥܡ and διὰ μέσον cannot be dissociated we must render 'he was crossing between the Samaritans and Galilee,' which is as awkward in Syriac as in English, so awkward indeed that it can only be regarded as a piece of patching.

The reading of *S C* very cleverly avoids the difficulties. By reading

[ܣܡܪܝܐ] ܠܡܥܠ ܠܡܥܠ ܕܥܡ ܣܡܪܝܐ ܕܥܡ ܕܥܡ

*he crossed between the Samaritans and the Galilaeans [to Jericho]*

the doubled ܕܥܡ is avoided by substituting in each case 'Samaritans' and 'Galilaeans' for 'Samaria' and 'Galilee.' The final word ܣܡܪܝܐ is absent from *S*, and so probably does not belong to the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. But without this word the Syriac might very well be translated 'he crossed Samaria to the Galilaeans.' To avoid this misconception therefore *C* adds from the context a mention of Jericho.

But though it is natural to translate the text of *C*

*he crossed between the Samaritans and the Galilaeans to Jericho,*

it is equally within the rules of Syriac Grammar (*Nöld.* § 251; see above, p. 62) to render it

*he crossed between the Samaritans and the Galilaeans AND Jericho,*

though this is the less natural construction, because 'Samaritans' and 'Galilaeans' are not co-ordinate with the town 'Jericho.' But this second rendering is in agreement with the Old Latin.

The natural inference to be drawn, if this variation stood alone, would be that the

reading of the Old Latin mss was derived from a misunderstanding of the Syriac gloss. This is highly improbable. On general grounds it is likely that the interpolation *et Hiericho* arose in the West, was adopted in the Diatessaron, and carried over into *C* (not *S*); and that it is merely the accident of Syriac idiom which makes the interpolated text more forcible in Syriac than in Latin. In any case the variant teaches us not to lay too much weight on the converse argument derived from Lk ix 61<sup>1</sup>.

**xvii 17** The reading of *S* is certain (see vol. i, p. 552) so far as the omission of ܐܠܝܐ is concerned; in other words, *S* and *C* agree with *D* and the Old Latin in reading ܐܘܪܝܐ instead of ܐܘܪܝܐ ܐܠܝܐ.

**xvii 21** As stated on p. 198, this verse is noteworthy for the fact that the Peshitta and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron are all extant and all different. It may therefore be not out of place to point out that the Homily ascribed to Ephraim which contains a quotation of this verse agreeing with the Peshitta (*Ed. Rom.* vi 550) is not really by S. Ephraim, but should be ascribed to Isaac of Antioch on the sufficient authority of B.M. Add. 14607, a ms of the 6th century.

**xviii 5** On the construction, see p. 73.

For ὑποπιάζω με *C* and syr.vg. have ܐܠܝܐ ܐܠܝܐ ‘annoy me,’ a very good rendering. *S* has ܐܠܝܐ ܐܠܝܐ ‘will take hold of me.’ This must be meant for the alternative reading ὑποπιάζω (*G\** 13&c al<sup>mult</sup>). In 1 Cor ix 27 there is a similar variety of reading in the Greek, and here the Sinai Arabic text published by Mrs Gibson has امسك جسدي ‘I will take hold of my body,’ to render ὑποπιάζω μου τὸ σῶμα.

**xviii 25** On ܐܠܝܐ (for ܐܠܝܐ) in *S*, see p. 51.

**xviii 30** On the reading, see p. 194.

**xix 44** the day of thy greatness] The Greek is τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου. On this very curious rendering Cureton remarks (*Preface*, p. lix): ‘The translator here, at the same time that he betrays a want of knowledge of the Greek language, seems also to indicate that he performed his task at a period when the episcopal office was held in the highest dignity.’ I cannot but think Cureton right in believing that the translator here understood ἐπισκοπή in the sense of ‘the office of an ἐπίσκοπος,’ but his inference about the time when the translator lived is indefinite: the ἐπίσκοπος, wherever there has been a Christian officer called by that title, has been at all times the head of the ecclesiastical system, whether as resident Bishop or travelling Visitor. This word ܐܠܝܐ is not the conventional ecclesiastical equivalent for ἐπισκοπή, and so its use points to an early rather than to a late date. As a matter of fact, רבנות is actually used in the Targums for the Hebrew משה in the technical sense of ‘the dignity conferred by ordination,’ e.g. Num xviii 8, Lev vii 25 (35). Agreements with Jewish Aramaic such as these belong to the earliest stratum of Christian Syriac.

On the reading of *S* and the Peshitta, see p. 222.

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of this Note will be found in the present writer's Supplementary Notes to the Second Edition of Westcott and Hort's *Introduction* (Appendix, p. 145).

**xx 17** On the particle ܐܠܝܢ, see p. 50.

In the phrase *εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας* the last word is rendered ܐܠܝܢ by all Syriac authorities in Matt xxi 42, Mk xii 10. This is the natural rendering, as may be seen from Matt vi 5, and is probably implied in *Moesinger* 193. But in Lk xx 17 *S* has ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ for *εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας*, as in the Peshitta of Ac iv 11, *C* has ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ, as in the Peshitta of Ps cxviii 22, while syr.vg has ܐܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ, a conflation of *S* with the rendering found in the other Gospels.

The Book of Acts in syr.vg has been much less drastically revised than the Gospels, so that we may fairly take the agreement of *S* and Ac iv 11 as an indication that *S* has here preserved the original rendering. The text of *C*, on the other hand, can hardly be anything else than an assimilation of the Gospel text to that of the Psalms.

**xx 29** The spelling ܐܠܝܢ is quite legible in the photograph of *S*. As mentioned on p. 48 this spelling is characteristic of several forms of Palestinian Aramaic, but in Edessene it does not seem to be known outside the Sinai Palimpsest.

**xx 34** The only correct translation of ܐܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ, here read by *S* and *C*, is 'beget and are begotten,' as Cureton translated it. The first word is masculine and active; the second word by itself might be active or passive, but both the context and the readings of the Greek MSS shew that it is intended for a passive. The *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* therefore supports *γεννῶσιν καὶ γεννῶνται* with *a c e l* Irenaeus and Cyprian, against the *γεννῶνται καὶ γεννῶσιν* attested by *D ff i q*. The accident that the latter reading is attested by the Greek MS D has given it an undeserved prominence. The reading of *S C* and its allies is certainly the earlier form of the Western text, and I incline to regard it as a genuine clause of S. Luke's Gospel.

**xxi 11** In view of the many notable variations in the extant Syriac texts of this verse it is worth pointing out that an allusion to it in the Chronicle of Joshua Stylites xlix (*Wright*, p. 45<sup>16</sup>) contains the definitely Peshitta phrase ܐܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ 'terrors and panics.'

At the end of the verse *S* stands almost alone with D and *e* among 'Western' authorities in omitting *καὶ χειμῶνες*.

**xxi 18** This verse is contained in *S*, but omitted by *C* and Marcion. The text of Marcion, however, has elsewhere no special affinity with the Old Syriac, so that the coincidence here is probably accidental.

**xxi 25** On the renderings of ἀπορία, see p. 83.

**xxi 35** Both *S* and *C* have ܐܠܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ for *ὡς παγὶς γὰρ ἐπεισελεύσεται* (or *ἐπελεύσεται*), and the same rendering reappears in the Harclean. It is in fact a natural and literal translation of the Greek. But the Peshitta has ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ 'for as a spring it shall spring.'

The origin of this striking and peculiar rendering is quite obscure. The meaning of the verb ܕܝܢ is attested by Aphraates 296 'ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ' 'the snare closes upon it,' a phrase independent of Lk xxi 35. It may possibly have stood in the Diatessaron, but the passage is not extant in any early Syriac authority.



**xxii 3** For the spelling of the name 'Iscariot,' see on Joh vi 71.

**xxii 17-20** In agreement with Westcott and Hort I assume that the true text of these verses is that preserved in Codex Bezae. The reasons for this view are set forth in Dr Hort's well-known Note on the passage and do not need repetition here. Thus we have as the original form from which all the variants start:

<sup>17</sup>And He received a cup and gave thanks and said: 'Take this and divide it among yourselves, <sup>18</sup>for I say unto you I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.'

<sup>19a</sup>And He took bread, and gave thanks and brake it and gave to them, saying: 'This is my body.'

[followed immediately by <sup>21</sup>'But behold, the hand of him, &c.....']

The Old Latin MSS *a* (*b*) (*e*) *f* *i* *l* support D, but *b* and *e* put *ver.* 19<sup>a</sup> before *vv.* 17, 18, so that the Bread may come before the Cup, as in the other accounts of the Last Supper. Most MSS, including **Σ** and B, after 'This is my body' add "<sup>19b</sup> 'which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me.' <sup>20</sup>And the cup likewise after supper, saying: 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood, which is shed for you.'" These words are taken either direct from 1 Cor xi 23<sup>b</sup>-25, as Westcott and Hort suggest, or from a liturgical text itself based on S. Paul.

The Syriac evidence is more complicated. We have to consider, besides the Peshitta and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, the texts of the Diatessaron and of the Liturgy. The Peshitta only differs from the 'Received Text' by the omission of *vv.* 17 and 18. It does not agree in language with the Peshitta text of 1 Cor, and its genesis is (I think) best explained by supposing it to be a revision of a text like that of *S*, in which *ver.* 19 immediately followed *ver.* 16. Very likely *vv.* 17 and 18 stood in the Greek MS used by the reviser, but he passed them over either by accident or design.

The kind of text used in Syriac Liturgies during the 4th century is not improbably represented by the quotation in Aphraates 221, a combination of Matt and 1 Cor. It runs as follows:

After Judas went forth from them (*cf* Joh xiii 30), He took bread and blessed and gave to His disciples and said to them: 'This is my body; take, eat of it all of you<sup>1</sup>.'

And also over the wine thus He blessed and said to them: 'This is my blood, the new covenant that for many is shed to forgiveness of sins: thus be ye doing for my memory whenever ye be gathered together.'

The last words are practically equivalent to 1 Cor xi 25<sup>b</sup>, but they agree still closer with the end of the words of institution as printed in the Nestorian 'Liturgy of Theodore,' the present form of which dates from the 6th century<sup>2</sup>. That the quotation in Aphraates is not taken straight from the Diatessaron appears from the fact that it does not contain the portions of our Lord's words at the Supper which are quoted by Ephraim (*Moesinger* 222). Aphraates omits 'and brake' after 'blessed,' and he has

<sup>1</sup> For this phrase, see e.g. the *Canon Missae*, the Anaphora of Nestorius and the Coptic Anaphora published by Giorgi.

<sup>2</sup> It was 'translated' by Mar Aba the Catholicos. See Canon Maclean's Syriac edition, p. ٨١.



nothing to correspond with 'I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine until the kingdom of my Father' (so *Moesinger* 222).

The narrative of the Supper in the Diatessaron, apart from these extracts, is very hard to ascertain. The Arabic (xlv 12–16) gives Matt xxvi 26–29 (= Mk xiv 22–25) followed by Lk xxii 19<sup>b</sup> 'and so be doing for my memory.' But we cannot trust the details where they agree in text with the Peshitta, and possibly the true text of the Diatessaron contained more elements derived from S. Luke. But obviously S. Luke's account, in which the Cup comes before the Bread, was not made the basis of the narrative.

We have now to consider how best to explain the text of *S* and *C*, on the assumption that the Diatessaron and probably a liturgical text resembling Aphraates 221 was known to the translator. Two questions of importance arise: (1) Is the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* more faithfully preserved in *S* or in *C* at this point? and (2) What Greek text was known to the translator?

I have come to the conclusion that *C* is here the more faithful text, and that there is no indication that either *S* or *C* is based on the longer Greek text. The text of *S* may be arranged thus:—

1 Cor xi 23, 24 And He took bread <sup>24</sup>and gave thanks over it and brake and gave to them and said:

'This is my body that for you [I give];

So be doing for my memory.'

25 <sup>25</sup>And [after they supped] he took a cup and gave thanks over it and said:

Lk xxii 17<sup>b</sup> 'Take this; divide among yourselves.

Matt xxvi 28<sup>a</sup> [This is my blood, the new covenant.]

Lk xxii 18 [For] I say to you, that from now I shall not drink of this \*fruit\*, until the kingdom of God come.'

The words in brackets are omitted by *C*, and in line 7 instead of 'fruit' *C* has 'produce of the vine.'

The first four lines practically reproduce 1 Cor xi 23<sup>b</sup>–25<sup>a</sup> (in the true text)<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, line 5 is Lk xxii 17<sup>b</sup>, and line 7 is Lk xxii 18<sup>b</sup>. Thus both *S* and *C* definitely attest Lk xxii 17, 18, which is the passage peculiar to the Third Gospel. The main reason that I consider the text of *C* here the earlier is that *C* is more faithful both to Lk and to 1 Cor: this might very well be the work of an editor combining documents for the first time, but a later scribe, revising a text by a Greek ms would have only assimilated the text before him to *one* Biblical passage. Assuming then *C* to be the more original, the passages in square brackets must be regarded as interpolations in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. In line 2 'I give' comes neither from S. Luke nor from S. Paul; it is a reminiscence of Joh vi 51, inserted to lighten the syntax. In line 4 'after they supped' is of course from 1 Cor xi 25, but without *ᾠσαύτως*. Line 6 'This is my blood, the new covenant' corresponds to Matt xxvi 28<sup>a</sup>, and it has a place in Aphraates 221. In line 7 'for' is inserted so as to avoid having so many clauses without any conjunction: it is indeed found in all mss of Lk xxii 18 but *C*, but omissions of this sort are very common both in *S* and *C*. In the same line 'fruit' is a much more commonplace word

<sup>1</sup> The earliest Syriac form of 1 Cor is indicated here by the Armenian version.

than ܐܬܝܬܐ, a term specially appropriate here as is clear from the Peshitta text of Judg ix 13: probably 'fruit' was meant as a substitute for 'produce,' but in the process of substitution 'of the vine' was accidentally deleted also.

Taking *C* as our basis, it is not difficult to account for the additions found in *S*. To explain the genesis of *C* is more difficult, chiefly because the exact wording of the Diatessaron in its original form is unknown to us. But the words 'that (is) for you' after 'This is my body' definitely belong to 1 Cor xi 24 and not to the interpolated form of Lk xxii 19. All the mss which have the longer form of Lk xxii 19 have τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον, and it is hardly likely, if *C* had got this passage from the interpolated form of Lk xxii 19, that it would have had only ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ. I conclude therefore that the words came from S. Paul's account, probably through the medium of the Diatessaron, and that the Greek text of the Gospels known to the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* here agreed in essentials with that approved by Westcott and Hort. The *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* here, as in so many other passages, may be not a simple translation from the Greek, but an adaptation of the language of the Diatessaron to agree more or less with the Greek text. At the same time it is quite likely that neither *S* nor *C* may give an uncorrupted text. It is possible that both *S* and *C* have been independently assimilated to the Diatessaron, and that the original form of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* may have been still nearer that approved by Westcott and Hort.

**xxii 37** The ܐ which is inserted by *S* before ܐܬܝܬܐ is probably nothing more than a scribe's blunder: see p. 69, note.

**xxii 48** For a discussion of the meaning and origin of the Syriac phrase ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, here found in *C*, see the Note on Matt xii 40. In *S* we find ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ. There is no doubt as to the reading of the Palimpsest, but of course this ungrammatical expression is due to the error of some scribe.

I venture to suggest that the ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ of *S* is a mistake, not for the commonplace ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, but for ܐܬܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, and that the sense intended was

*Judas, with a kiss thou dost betray a man!*

Two distinct questions are here raised. There is the question of what S. Luke wrote and the question of what the original words may have been. With regard to the first question, I do not think we can follow the lead of the Sinai Palimpsest. The fact that there is no various reading in the Greek is not in itself decisive, because the Latin *filium hominis* is essentially neutral between νῖδὸν ἀνθρώπου and τὸν νῖδὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. But we should not expect to find νῖδὸς ἀνθρώπου used by S. Luke in the sense of ἄνθρωπος.

We cannot doubt therefore that S. Luke wrote φιλήματι τὸν νῖδὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδως, and that he understood *The Son of Man* to have the same meaning that it has in Lk xxii 69. But assuming the saying not to be the invention of the Evangelist, what was its original form? To what Aramaic phrase does it correspond? Here perhaps the Semitic tact of the ancestor of *S* may indicate the truth. The technical terminology of Lk xxii 69 is surely out of place here, and I venture to think that we shall do well, not to interpret ὁ νῖδὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου here in some artificial sense, but boldly

to substitute for it a simple *ἄνθρωπος* when we try to realise the actual scene. The same I feel sure is true of Matt xii 32 and Mk ii 10, 28. In all these cases the reference is not to the Messiah *qua* Messiah, but to man *qua* man. The Sabbath was made for man, therefore a man is lord of the Sabbath; to speak against a man is pardonable, but to resist the Spirit of God is unpardonable. It is the same in Lk xxii 48: the crime of Judas is not so much that it was the Messiah whom he betrayed, as that he betrayed a man by means of a kiss.

**xxii 52** στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ] The 'Captains of the Temple' appear to have been a kind of Jewish sanctuary police. In Acts we hear of the Captain of the Temple (in the singular), and his satellites (Ac iv 1, v 24; 26). The ordinary text also has καὶ στρατηγοῖς in Lk xxii 4, but the word is omitted there by D lat.vt as well as by *SC* and the Æthiopic. In xxii 52 the words στρατηγοὺς τοῦ ἱεροῦ are doubtless genuine, but *S* renders them by ܣܬܪܬܝܓܘܝܬܐ under the influence of the Diatessaron, for according to Tatian the arrest of our Lord was made with the help of *Roman* soldiery (Diat<sup>ar</sup> xlviii 22, confirmed by *Moesinger* 235). This view was apparently founded on the theory that the σπεῖραν of Joh xviii 3 implied an Imperial Cohort. The reading of *C*, ܣܬܪܬܝܓܘܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܝܬܐ, looks like a conflation of *S* with the Greek text, made by a reviser who saw that τοῦ ἱεροῦ was left out in the Syriac rendering. But ܣܬܪܬܝܓܘܝܬܐ, i.e. στρατιῶται, is hardly an appropriate rendering of στρατηγοί. The Peshitta, both here and in *ver.* 4, has ܣܬܪܬܝܓܘܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܝܬܐ.

**xxii 54** On the names given to S. Peter by the various Syriac texts, see pp. 92-96. The Greek here has ὁ δὲ Πέτρος.

**xxii 59** ܣܬܪܬܝܓܘܝܬܐ, *S*, meaning 'Galilaean': see p. 46.

**xxiii 2** 'King Messiah.' On the more accurate equivalent for this well-known Jewish phrase, see p. 58.

**xxiii 6** ܣܬܪܬܝܓܘܝܬܐ, *S*, meaning 'Galilee': see p. 46.

**xxiii 9<sup>b</sup>-12** The omission of these verses is a curious and unexplained phenomenon of the text of *S*. Possibly it is somehow connected with the awkward wording of xxiii 5, 6, where the omission of necessary words seems to indicate that the ancestor of *S* has been mutilated about this point. Unfortunately the African Latin of the verses has to be gathered wholly from the late *ms c*, as *e* seems to have been corrected from a commonplace source throughout the greater part of Lk xxiii. It is therefore noteworthy that both at the beginning and at the end of the great omission in *S* we find a variation from the common text in *c*. At the end of xxiii 9 *c* adds *quasi non audiens*, which corresponds to ܩܘܣܝ ܢܘܢ ܐܘܕܝܢܝܬܐ in *C*, but is not attested by any other *ms*, and for xxiii 12 *c* has *Cum essent autem in dissensionem Pilatus et Herodes facti sunt amici in illa die [nam antea inimici erant ad inuicem]*. The last clause is probably interpolated into *c* from the Vulgate, but the rest corresponds to a well-known singular reading of *D*. Thus the passage omitted by *S* was one in which early Western



texts presented great variations from the mass of the later Greek mss. But beyond this it is difficult to make any assertion with confidence, for there can be little doubt that the passage as a whole is a genuine portion of Lk.

**xxiii 19, 25** On ܠܚܝܠܝܢ and ܡܡܝܢ see p. 79*f*, where it is suggested that the original word may have been ܠܚܝܠܡܠܝܢ 'sedition.'

**xxiii 21** On the verbal suffixes in *S*, see pp. 54–56.

**xxiii 34<sup>a</sup>** For the reading of *S*, see pp. 195, 215*f*.

**xxiii 38** On ܠܬܒܠܬܐ 'tablet,' see pp. 79, 138, 201.

**xxiii 43** In this verse *S* agrees with syr.vg in having 'in the Paradise' for ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, while *C* and the Diatessaron have 'in the Garden of Eden': see pp. 109, 138. *S* also agrees with syr.vg against *C* in joining σήμερον with μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ and not with Ἀμήν σοι λέγω, but in this second case the other authorities are divided. Ephraim (*Moes.* 244, 245) quotes the words of Jesus three times and each time without the prefixed 'To-day,' as in *C* and in *A* 437. But he says also "Our Lord shortened His distant liberalities and gave a near promise, To-day and not at the End.... Thus through a robber was Paradise opened."

The punctuation attested by *C* is referred to but not approved by Barsalibi, who says (in his Commentary on S. Matthew): "Some hold that when He said *To-day*, it was not of that Friday that He said that in it the robber should be in Paradise, but at the end of the world; and they read the passage *Amen, amen* (sic), *to-day*, adding a colon (ܠܬܒܬܐ ܠܡܠܬܐ), and afterwards *With Me thou shalt be in Paradise*, i.e. at the end of the world." But possibly this is an extract from some Greek commentator, for in Greek no change would be required in the text if this view were adopted, while in Syriac it involves the transposition of ܐ from before ܠܡܠܬܐ to before ܬܒܬܐ.

**xxiii 48** The quotations given in the apparatus from *Addai* 27 and *Moesinger* 245 make it evident that some reference to the 'judgement' or 'desolation' of Jerusalem stood in the Diatessaron as well as the cry 'Woe to us! What hath befallen us?'

The full reading is preserved in a slightly corrupted form by Cod. Sangermanensis (*g*), which adds to the ordinary text at the end of the verse: *dicentes uae uobis quae facta sunt hodie propter peccata nostra. adpropinquauit enim desolatio hierusalem*. Here *uobis* is obviously a mistake for *nobis*, and I have little doubt that *hodie* is a corruption of *nobis* also.

The same cry of Woe appears in the *Gospel of Peter* (§ 7) where we read (after Christ has been taken down from the Cross and His burial): τότε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἰδόντες οἶον κακὸν ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησαν ἠρέξαντο κόπτεσθαι καὶ λέγειν Οὐαὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν· ἡγγισεν ἡ κρίσις καὶ τὸ τέλος Ἱερουσαλὴμ. This sentence and the form of text found in the Diatessaron obviously have a common origin: possibly indeed the *Gospel of Peter* is the original source of the reading.



**xxiv 7** ܕܠܝܕܝܐ. The agreement of *S* and *C* with syr.vg makes this a convenient point to draw attention to the way in which ܕܠܝܕܝܐ 'to crucify' and ܕܠܝܕܝܐ 'Cross' are constantly avoided in *S*, ܕܠܝܕܝܐ and ܕܠܝܕܝܐ being used instead. The noun ܕܠܝܕܝܐ does not occur in *S*, ܕܠܝܕܝܐ being used in all the eleven places where *S* is extant. In syr.vg ܕܠܝܕܝܐ occurs 15 out of 17 times, while in *C* ܕܠܝܕܝܐ occurs 4 times out of 6, viz. Matt x 38, xix 21 (an interpolation), Lk ix 23, xiv 27. Its use in Matt xix 21 (= Mk x 21) is supported by Aphraates 392, so that ܕܠܝܕܝܐ appears to have had a place in the Diatessaron.

The verb *σταυροῦν* occurs 33 or 34 times in the Gospels. By far the commoner Syriac rendering is ܕܠܝܕܝܐ, but ܕܠܝܕܝܐ occurs here in all extant texts. In Joh xix, where syr.vg alone is extant, ܕܠܝܕܝܐ is used for 'crucify, crucify,' in vv. 6<sup>ab</sup>, 15<sup>ab</sup>, although elsewhere in the chapter ܕܠܝܕܝܐ alone occurs. In Mk ix 12 *S* has ܕܠܝܕܝܐ for ἐξουθενήθη, while syr.vg has ܕܠܝܕܝܐ, a word which elsewhere stands rather for ἀποδοκιμάζειν. It looks almost as if the one Syriac word were derived by mere confusion from the other. In that case we should suppose syr.vg to have retained the genuine reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* unchanged and the ܕܠܝܕܝܐ of *S* would be a mere corruption of ܕܠܝܕܝܐ.

The avoidance of ܕܠܝܕܝܐ in *S* is probably nothing more than a translator's trick, like the avoidance of ܕܠܝܕܝܐ 'ship' and ܕܠܝܕܝܐ 'resurrection.' I have been unable to make out any difference in meaning between ܕܠܝܕܝܐ and ܕܠܝܕܝܐ, any more than there is between Rood and Cross. Both words seem ultimately to mean 'a stake.'

**xxiv 12** For the reading, see pp. 231 *f*. At the end of the verse ܕܠܝܕܝܐ ܕܠܝܕܝܐ should have been translated 'and he went to his house,' not 'and he went away': cf Joh i 39.

**xxiv 43, 44** The translation given of the text of *S* and *C* is a possible one, but the Latin evidence and that of Clement convinces me that there is no asyndeton at the beginning of *ver.* 44 and that the translation ought to run:

<sup>42</sup>And they gave him a portion of fish broiled [and of honey-comb]. <sup>43</sup>And while he took *and* ate before their eyes [and took up that which was over *and* gave to them] <sup>44</sup>he said to them....

The square brackets represent the portions of text found in *C*, but rightly omitted by *S* with *D* and *e* as well as *AB* and *A*.

Clement of Alexandria (p. 174) definitely quotes the passage thus: ἐπέδωκεν αὐτῷ ἰχθύος ὀπτου μέρος. <sup>43</sup>καὶ φαγὼν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν <sup>44</sup>εἶπεν αὐτοῖς.... Of the Latins *b* and *ff* have in vv. 43, 44, *Et manducans coram ipsis* <sup>44</sup>*dixit ad eos*, while *e* and the text underlying *c* have *Et accepit coram illis*. <sup>44</sup>*Et dixit illis*. Possibly therefore *D* is right in reading καὶ εἶπεν at the beginning of *ver.* 44, and the Εἶπεν δὲ of most Greek mss is a stylistic alteration to make a paragraph begin with *ver.* 44.

S. JOHN.

**i 1** We see from the text of *C* in i 14 that **ܠܠܗ** *Word* retains its usual gender, even when used in the theological sense, and the text of *C* is borne out by the quotations of Aphraates and S. Ephraim. At the same time the Subject of the Prologue is treated as masculine, as is clear from the opening words of the second verse. As, therefore, in the first clause of the first verse the verb is masculine and **ܠܠܗ** is feminine it is best to take **ܠܠܗ** as the predicate, not as the subject. The grammatical subject, who is at the same time the Subject of the Gospel itself, is unnamed; but it is *asserted* that He was the Word.

It is commonly said that ܐܠܗܐ when it means 'God, the Word,' is treated as masculine, and this is true of later Syriac usage, beginning with Rabbula and the Peshitta itself. But it is not true of the *Ec. da-Mepharreshe* or of Syriac writers before Rabbula.

Now if ܐܠܗܐ be feminine throughout the Prologue to this Gospel, the reason for the insertion of ܐܘܪ in the latter clauses of i 1 becomes clear. It is not a mere equivalent for the Greek article, but the actual nominative of the verbs, and ܐܠܗܐ is in apposition to it. This indeed is recognised by syr.vg, for the words are pointed ܐܠܗܐ ܐܘܪ i.e. *hū mellēthā*, not ܐܠܗܐ ܐܘܪ i.e. *hau mellēthā*. Mr Gwilliam therefore is wrong in translating the words by 'ipsum Verbum'; it should be 'Ipse, Verbum,' in each case.

The theological doctrine associated by S. Ephraim with the name of the Word is best illustrated by the long extracts from his (lost) Homily on Joh i 1, which are quoted in *Lamy* ii 511 and in my *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, pp. 64, 65.

**i 3, 4** On the text of S. Ephraim's quotations of i 3<sup>a</sup>, see above p. 139. As regards the vexed question of the punctuation of i 3<sup>b</sup>, 4, it is evident that *C* ends v. 3 with οὐδὲ ἐν, beginning v. 4 with δὲ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἔσται. Syr.vg corrects ἔσται into ἦν and otherwise alters the wording, but continues to join δὲ γέγονεν with ἐν αὐτῷ and not with the preceding οὐδὲ ἐν. At a later period the punctuation was changed, but at the expense of grammar. See the present writer's Note in the *Journ. of Theol. Studies* iv 436, and Mr Gwilliam's Reply iv 606. I leave it to my readers to judge for themselves whether in the sentence

[illegible]

they will put the stop after **dom** with the late Professor R. L. Bensly and the most ancient mss, or place it before **ms** with Mr Gwilliam and the modern custom.

**i 14** It has been shewn above on Joh i 1 and also on pp. 44, 109, 140, that up to the time of Rabbula our Syriac authorities always treat ܡܠܬܐ 'the Word' as feminine, and translate *σάρξ* by ܬܠܬܐ 'body,' not ܬܠܬܐ 'flesh'; after Rabbula we find ܡܠܬܐ

in this theological sense treated as masculine, and *σάρξ* rendered in this verse by ܠܝܫܐ, although in the corresponding places in Joh vi syr.vg still has ܠܝܫܐ for *σάρξ*, like *S* and *C*.

But all our authorities, including syr.vg, translate ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν by ܐܢܝܢܐ or ܐܢܝܢܐ. It is difficult to ascertain the exact meaning of this phrase, because almost all the instances in Syriac literature of ܐܢܝܢܐ construed with ܕ are direct allusions to this very passage. The only exception I can find is a passage in a Homily ascribed to Ephraim (*Ed. Rom.* vi 439 A), where we read ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ ܕܝܫܐ, i.e. *Make him rest in the best part of thy bed*. This is part of the Christian's duty to his brother on a journey.

Here ܐܢܝܢܐ retains its proper transitive force. More often it has the middle sense of 'causing oneself to rest,' like اقام به in Arabic, or the English phrase 'to put up in a place.' But ܐܢܝܢܐ thus used generally takes ܕ after it, as in Acts v 15.

As ܐܢܝܢܐ with ܕ is so uncommon, we may fairly conclude that the preposition had no very definite connotation and we must deduce the meaning from the Greek it represents and from the context. I have uniformly rendered the phrase 'sojourned among us,' but I venture to think that the translator wished to express rather the dwelling of the Word in a human tabernacle than the sojourn of the Word among human beings. The verb σκηνοῦν is used elsewhere four times in the New Testament, viz. Rev. vii 15, xii 12, xiii 6, xxi 3. In Rev xii 12, xiii 6, where it is followed by ἐν it is used simply for to 'inhabit' a country, and the Syriac has ܠܝܫܐ with ܕ. In Rev xxi 3 it is used of God dwelling with (μετά) men, and the Syriac has ܠܝܫܐ with ܕ. In Rev vii 15 it is used with ἐπὶ of the Divine Shekinah, and there we find ܐܢܝܢܐ with ܕ. I have therefore come to the conclusion that ܐܢܝܢܐ....ܐܢܝܢܐ means 'The Word...sojourned in our nature,' rather than 'sojourned among men,' and that 'cast its influence in us' is wrong.

**i 18** For μονογενής, syr.vg has everywhere ܡܢܝܢܐ, except in Heb xi 17. It also is used in Lk viii 42, ix 38, by *S* and *C*. Here, however, and in Joh iii 16, 18, *C* has ܡܢܝܢܐ, supported by *S* in iii 16. The meaning is the same, but ܡܢܝܢܐ passes perhaps rather more easily into a substantive and appears to be so used in Joh iii 18 syr.vg, where for εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ we find ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ, which I should be inclined to translate 'in the name of the Only-begotten, the Son of God,' treating ܡܢܝܢܐ as a substantive. *C* treats μονογενοῦς as an adjective, for it renders the phrase ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ, with ܡܢܝܢܐ at the end. But the original Syriac rendering of this verse may have been ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ as in *S*, i.e. 'in the name of the approved Son.' No other extant authority supports *S* here, but Joh i 34 shews that there was a tendency to eliminate readings which seemed to savour of 'Adoptionism.'

In Joh i 18 there is no question that μονογενής is genuine; usually we have to choose between μονογενής θεός and ὁ μονογενής υἱός. But though *C* with ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ clearly supports ὁ μονογενής υἱός and syr.vg with ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ clearly supports [ὁ] μονογενής θεός, the Diatessaron appears to have read [ὁ] μονογενής, without either υἱός or θεός. The direct quotation in Ephraim's Commentary (*Moesinger* 3) is borne out by the allusion in Aphraates 115, and it is further attested in Latin by *gat*, one of the group of Vulgate



mss with 'mixed' texts that we have elsewhere found to agree with Diatessaron readings; see above on Joh x 8 (p. 196).

It is very unfortunate that the leaf of *S* which contained the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel should be missing, but I venture to think it probable that if it had been preserved we should have found that it read ܡܠܟܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ like syr.vg. In cases where the Old Syriac, or one branch of it, agreed with the Alexandrian text (to call the non-Western non-Constantinopolitan text by its truer name), we often find that the Peshitta *retains* the reading unchanged, but there are hardly any instances of the Peshitta taking the Alexandrian side when the Old Syriac supports a reading attested both by the Western and the Constantinopolitan authorities. In Joh i 18 *μονογενὴς θεός* is supported only by *ABC<sup>\*</sup>L* 33 boh aeth in addition to syr.vg and certain Fathers: the presence of syr.vg in this group can only be explained on the hypothesis that it retains unaltered an older Syriac text. At the same time the verse has been otherwise revised into closer conformity with the Greek: ܡܨܝܚܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ does not sound so primitive a rendering of *ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς* as the simple ܡܨܝܚܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ of *C*.

The fact that *C* supports *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός* presents no difficulty, as there are many other examples in *C* of revision from later Greek texts. What has happened here is exactly what has happened in Mk xvi 9-20 and Lk x 41, 42, to name the most obvious instances. Probably the ancestor of *C* before it was revised had ܡܨܝܚܐ alone, like the Diatessaron.

**i 28** ܡܨܝܚܐ. The *seyâmê* marking the plural are here, as in so many other words, not legible in *S*, but there is no reason to suppose that they were originally absent. Possibly the place-name was intended by the translator to sound significant, so that

ܡܨܝܚܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ

would convey the meaning *at Overstrand*, *over Jordan River*, rather than *at Beth-‘Ebré* or *at Beth-‘Ēbārê*. In Greek *Βηθεβάρη* is found in 13&c and A-262, but the Syriac pronunciation is more probably indicated by the Armenian *Բեթաբարայ*, i.e. *Bethabrê* or *Bethebrê*, without a vowel between *b* and *r*. The true Diatessaron reading is unknown, the Arabic having *Bethany* in agreement with the Peshitta.

This reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* would be hardly worth separate notice but for the suspicion that the reading *Βηθαβαρῆ* for *Βηθανία* was first introduced into the Greek text of the Gospel by Origen. It might therefore be urged that the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was later than Origen, later therefore than about 230 AD.<sup>1</sup> But this is extremely unlikely in itself, in view of the general character of the text. It is equally unlikely that any reading adopted by Origen should have been derived by him from a Syriac source.

We must therefore assume that *Bethabara* (or its equivalent) was adopted by the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and by Origen from a common source. This source seems to have been not documentary evidence, but local identification. In Origen's case this is distinctly stated (Orig. *in Joan.* iv 140, ed. Brooke i 158): he tells us that he is

<sup>1</sup> See Baethgen, *Evangelienfragmente*, p. 83.



sure we ought to read not *Bethania* but *Bethabara*, γενόμενοι ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐπὶ ἱστορίαν τῶν ἰχνῶν Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν. That a similar archaeological interest underlies the Old Syriac is obvious, otherwise we should never have had the identifications of *Kaná* with *Cátné*, of *Ναζαρέτ* with *Násrath*, or the careful spelling of the Syriac equivalents for *Βηθανία*, *Βηθφαγή*, *Βηθζαθά*, *Βηθσαιδά*, *Χοραζαῖν*, and other comparatively obscure names. Whether the identifications implied are always correct is another matter; but it is evident that a serious attempt has been made to give the names correctly, in marked contrast to the Western indifference of the Latin texts.

The Old Syriac version of the Gospels is the earliest evidence we possess for the beginnings of the cult of the Holy Places, a cult which attained so great a vogue in the fourth and succeeding centuries. The cult, of course, was not really archaeological, but was grounded in the wish to obtain the special benefit of each sacred spot. It is therefore interesting to note that among the first places to attract notice was the reputed scene of the Baptism of Jesus. It was here that many of the faithful went to receive baptism themselves, a custom which goes back to the sources of the *Onomastica* (Lagarde *OS* 108, 240), i.e. to the times of Origen. Among those who were so baptized was Rabbula, afterwards bishop of Edessa.

The identification of the scene of the Baptism with the traditional site five Roman miles from the mouth of the Jordan does not seem to find favour with modern scholars. What the tradition was based on it is impossible to say, but in any case it had very little to do with the literary tradition of the Fourth Gospel. We cannot doubt that the author of the Fourth Gospel wrote 'Bethany beyond Jordan.' On the other hand we have the cult of 'Bethabara,' developed before the time of Origen, perhaps at a pre-Christian holy place. The cult led to the identification of 'Bethany' with 'Bethabara,' and finally it influenced some texts of the Gospel.

**i 34** ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܐܝܟ is the reading both of *S* and of *C*, corresponding to ὁ ἐκλεκτός τοῦ θεοῦ, the reading of *N*\* al<sup>2</sup> *e*. Most documents have ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, the 'European' Latin variously combining the two readings.

The accession of *S* to the list of authorities for ἐκλεκτός ought, I think, to incline us to accept it. Its disappearance is only too easily accounted for, as there appears to have been an unwillingness to call our Lord 'the Chosen of God.' It appeared to be an 'Adoptionist' phrase, or at least to imply that there was a time or state in which He existed before God chose Him. Thus in Lk ix 35 ἀγαπητός is substituted for ἐκλελεγμένος in all documents except *S* and *NBL* 1 274<sup>ms</sup> *a ff l* vg.codd aeg aeth<sup>cod</sup> arm.

This evident dislike on the part of later scribes and editors to words which seem to imply choice or approval of Jesus Christ by the Father may lead us to look favourably on the reading of *S* in Joh iii 18 where it has 'the approved Son' (ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܐܝܟ) though all other authorities have τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ. The text now represented only by *S* would have provoked alteration, and the language of iii 16, where τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ μονογενῆ is certainly genuine, contained materials for a safe alternative.

**iii 5** 'from spirit and water'] The Greek is ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, and this is followed in *Moes*. 189. In *v*. 8, where the best text has ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος only (but *N*

and the Old Latin have ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος), *S* has 'from water and spirit' and *C* has 'from water and from spirit.' These variations in rendering, and the transposition of 'spirit' and 'water' by *S* in *v.* 5, may be explained if we suppose that the original form of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* (or the Greek text underlying it) omitted the mention of 'water' in each case. See Professor Lake's inaugural address at Leiden (Jan. 27, 1904), in which it is argued that ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ is an early interpretative gloss in Joh iii 5, and that the text known to Justin Martyr was still free from it.

**iii 6** "That which is born from flesh is flesh, *because from flesh it is born* ( $\alpha$ ); and that which is born from spirit is spirit, *because God is a spirit* ( $\beta$ ), *and from God it hath been born* ( $\gamma$ )."  
 Calling  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  the three clauses omitted by virtually all our Greek mss (*D* is deficient here), we may arrange their attestation as follows:

$\alpha \beta \gamma$	=	<i>C</i>	<i>a j</i>	vg.codd	Tert. <i>Carn. Chr</i> § 18
$\beta$ (only)	=	<i>S</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>aur</i>	Hil $\frac{2}{2}$
$\alpha \beta$	=		<i>e ffr</i>	vg.cod	Amb
$\alpha$ (only)	=		<i>b l q*</i>		
$\alpha \gamma$	=		161*		

Nemesianus of Thubunae has  $\beta \gamma$ , which we may take as virtually an attestation for all three glosses, but Cyprian  $\frac{2}{2}$  omits them all.

It is very difficult to account for the distribution of the evidence. But for *S* it might have been thought that all three glosses belonged together, and this is probably true so far as the West is concerned. We see from their omission in Cyprian that they were recognised as accretions and therefore excised from the more careful texts; what has happened completely in Cyprian has happened more or less with most of the Old Latin texts. But we may fairly take the evidence of *S* to shew that in the East  $\beta$  had a place in the text before  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  were added.

As is well known, S. Ambrose (*de Spir.* iii 11) accuses the Arians of having cut out the clause *quia Deus spiritus est* from this verse. The accusation is very likely true in the sense that some Arian scholars may have excised the clause for the same reason that S. Jerome suppressed it in the Vulgate, *viz.* that approved and standard Greek mss did not contain the words. But even if the presence of the clause in *S* be not held sufficient to establish its authenticity, we may at least use it to shew that neither *S* itself nor its immediate ancestor has been deliberately mutilated at important dogmatic passages, an accusation that has been actually made on the ground of the unfortunate loss of the leaves containing the end of S. Matthew and the beginning of S. John.

In a minor point *S* may indeed have suffered. It differs from the Western texts in gloss  $\beta$  by adding the adjective 'living' to 'Spirit,' reading

← om ←ωι ←ωι ←ωι ←ωι

There is rather an unusual distance between the last two letters, and the photograph suggests to me that possibly a letter has been washed out. Now ←ωι is almost invariably feminine in the Old Syriac (see on Mk v 8, Lk viii 29), and when it means the Holy Spirit it is always feminine, save in this passage. Perhaps therefore *S* read

originally **ⲕⲁⲥ** to agree with **ⲕⲁⲟ**. As the text stands it might be translated 'Because God the Spirit is living.' See also p. 44, note<sup>4</sup>.

**iii 13** Note that neither in *S* or *C*, nor in the Diatessaron, is there any attestation for the ordinary form of the clause  $\delta\ \delta\upsilon\ \epsilon\iota\ \tau\omega\ \omicron\iota\rho\alpha\nu\omega$ .

iii 16 On the rendering of *μονογενής*, see the Note on Joh i 18. In reading 'to send' instead of 'to give' *S* agrees with *e ff aur*; while *Moesinger* 258 in omitting the word agrees with *N\**, but this is probably a mere coincidence. The *ἔδωκεν* of *C* and the ordinary text is no doubt genuine. In fact it invites change, for it suggests the question 'to whom?'

iii 18 The rendering of τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ by **ابن الله** in *S* is very curious. There is no trace of the omission of τοῦ θεοῦ elsewhere or of a variant ἐκλεκτοῦ for μονογενοῦς. The elimination of ἐκλεκτός and ἐκκληλεγμένος elsewhere in the Gospels when applied to our Lord, together with the occurrence of μονογενής in Joh iii 16, makes it not improbable that *S* has preserved the true reading of this passage: see further on Joh i 18.

iii 22, 23 The Greek is quite clear: it reads διέτριβεν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐβάπτισεν.  
<sup>23</sup> ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων ἐν Αἰνῶν, so that *C* gives the correct translation. The text of *S* is in confusion, caused by the use of 𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁 for διατρίβειν. 𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁 'to dwell' and 𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁 'to be baptized' appear to have been mistaken one for the other in the ancestor of *S*. Possibly *C* has been emended from the Greek: yet in Joh xi 54 *S* also renders διατρίβειν by 𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁.

A somewhat similar variant is to be found in *v.* 18, where **חַסֵּד** 'guilty' is substituted by *C* for **חָמֵס** 'judged' (= *κέκριται*), perhaps to avoid confusion with **חָמֵס** 'but.' In this latter case, however, the text of *S* is both grammatical and correct.

There seem to have been many opinions as to the meaning of *Αἰών*. *S* and Arabic versions generally think of 'Fish Well,' *C* and syr.vg of 'Dove Well,' Eusebius (*OS* 177) has *πηγή δυνάμεως* and Jerome *fons eorum*. The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary has *ܚܝܬ*.

iii 25 **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲥ ⲛ** *S*. The plural points are not legible in *S*, so that it is impossible to discover whether *S* read *μετὰ Ἰουδαίων* with *C* or *μετὰ Ἰουδαίου* with *syr.vg* and the majority of Greek mss.

**iii 31, 32** The text here adopted by Westcott and Hort is ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐρχόμενος [ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν·] ὁ ἑώρακεν καὶ ἤκουσεν [τοῦτο] μαρτυρεῖ, but the words I have bracketed are omitted by *C* in company with **8\**D*** 1&c 565 latt.

I give below (1) the text of  $S^{ed}$ , (2) what I see in the photograph and (3) a suggested restoration.

<i>S<sup>ed</sup></i>	Words and letters visible in the photograph	<i>S</i> conjecturally restored
ܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ	..... ܟܠܟܐ .....	ܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ
ܠܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ	ܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ.....	ܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ
* * ܐܡ * * ܚܝܢ	.....	ܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ
ܠܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ	ܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ.....	ܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ
* * * * *	.....	ܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ

It will be noticed that even when we suppose *S* to have had the shorter reading found in *C* there is hardly room for all the words. Probably ܐܡ was omitted. It is impossible to get the words required for the longer reading into the space, so that in this case also we are justified in supposing that the Old Syriac sides with *N*\* and D and not with B and the Received Text (see above, p. 232).

**iv 1** In the various reading between  $\delta$  κύριος and  $\delta$  Ἰησοῦς in the first part of the verse *S* is, strictly speaking, neutral, as in the early part of the Fourth Gospel *S* regularly uses 'our Lord' for 'Jesus' (see above, p. 97). On the other hand, it clearly attests  $\eta$  before Ἰωάννης, and omits the second Ἰησοῦς found in the Greek before πλείονας μαθητάς.

The ܚ put before ܠܚܠܠܐ in *S<sup>ed</sup>* must surely be wrong. I should be inclined to omit it and to read

ܠܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ | ܠܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ | ܠܚܠܠܐ ܟܠܟܐ ܕܚܝܢ

**iv 3** ܡܠܟܐ. On the construction, see p. 70.

**iv 9** On the reading of *S*, see p. 254.

**iv 24** On the texts of *S* and *C*, see p. 218*f*.

**iv 25** On the relation of *S* and *C* to the Diatessaron in this passage, see p. 214.

**iv 35** The Sinai fragments of the Acts of Thomas are said to have ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ, and Mrs Lewis's edition does not recognise the ܐ before ܡܠܟܐ. I certainly thought however that the ܡ did not stand on the extreme right of the line, i.e. that a letter now illegible stood before the ܡ. The form ܡܠܟܐ (pl.) is not recognised by Nöldeke, and ܡܠܟܐ is a form we should not have expected in so early a MS: possibly the ܡ may have been added later, as is so often the case with these 3rd fem. pl. perfects.

**v 3, 4** On the reading of the Diatessaron, see pp. 195, 215*f*.

**v 18, 19** On the reading of *S<sup>ed</sup>*, see vol. i, p. 553. The photograph is illegible and the doubts I have expressed as to ܡܠܟܐ and the end of v. 19 are purely subjective. But I am confident that *S* has not been correctly deciphered here, and that its readings agree much more closely with *C* than the printed text testifies.



v 27, 28 The Peshitta has ܠܗܘܢ ܡܝܬܒܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܝܬܒܐ<sup>28</sup> ܠܗܘܢ ܡܝܬܒܐ, i.e. it connects the words *That He is the Son of Man* with *Wonder not at this* which immediately follows, instead of joining the clause to the rest of v. 27, as in *C*.

In this view of the passage syr.vg sides with S. Chrysostom, while the alternative adopted by *C*, by the Old Latin and by Origen, was that defended by Paul of Samosata. S. Chrysostom says (viii 264): "Paul of Samosata does not interpret the passage thus, but 'He gave him authority to do judgement, because he is son of man.' But it has no coherence punctuated thus, for it is not because He is Man that He received judicial authority, or why did He forbid all men to be judges? But since He is Son of the ineffable Substance, therefore is He judge. Thus therefore we must read: 'That He is Son of Man, wonder not at this'." The Peshitta, and the Armenian also, took the advice of S. Chrysostom, but the English versions follow the tradition championed by the great heresiarch of Antioch.

See also p. 225.

vi 4 In view of Dr Hort's Note on this verse suggesting that τὸ πάσχα is an early interpolation, it is advisable to ascertain as accurately as possible what text the Syriac renderings represent. The transmitted Greek text is ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. With this *C* agrees, rendering τὸ πάσχα by ܦܫܚܐ (see above, p. 79). In *S* we find τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑ. τῶν Ἰ. rendered by ܦܫܚܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܝܡ *the Feast of the Unleavened Bread of the Jews*, and this is practically supported by syr.vg, except that syr.vg has ܦܫܚܐ -Passover instead of ܦܫܚܐ Unleavened Bread.

At first sight we may be tempted to treat this as a clear case of interpolation. The word corresponding to τὸ πάσχα differs in each of our three authorities, so that we might conclude that it had been separately inserted into each. On reflexion, however, I do not think that view probable. I now think that *S* preserves the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, and that it is merely a characteristically loose rendering of the ordinary Greek text.

It is certainly very curious that while ܦܫܚܐ occurs in the Synoptic Gospels for τὸ πάσχα, in S. John *S* renders it by ܦܫܚܐ. Yet this is the case in Joh ii 23, vi 4, xii 1, xiii 1, xviii 28. *S* omits the term in xi 55 and is not extant in ii 13, xix 14. In all these cases ܦܫܚܐ is substituted by syr.vg. That *S* should have ܦܫܚܐ and syr.vg ܦܫܚܐ in Joh vi 4, where the Greek has τὸ πάσχα, is therefore normal. At the same time syr.vg supports *S* in rendering τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἑορτὴ as if it were ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα. But in so rendering, *S* is only doing what it has already done in Joh ii 23, where ἐν τῷ πάσχα ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ is rendered 'in the days of the Feast of unleavened Bread.'

Thus *S* in this verse gives a characteristic paraphrase of the ordinary Greek text, syr.vg gives a more or less revised version of *S*, while *C* represents an independent revision from the Greek. But all three texts go back to a Greek text which contained τὸ πάσχα, and therefore they cannot add anything to Dr Hort's ingenious plea for its omission.

vi 30 ff. On the absence of punctuation here in *C*, see p. 14 and the plates, pp. 38, 39.

vi 40 On the form ܐܡܢܐܠܐ in *S*, see p. 55.

vi 63 The text of *S* is obviously an interpretative paraphrase: so far as I know, no trace is found of it elsewhere. The text of *C* implies the insertion of ܐ before ܐܪܦܝܐ or else the omission of ܐܪ before the first ܡܢܐܡܐ (as in *N*\*). In the latter case ܐܪܐܝܐ must be regarded as in the apodosis, so that the meaning is 'That which gives life is ܡܢܐܡܐ, otherwise ܐܪܦܝܐ matters nothing.'

In *S* ܐܪܐܝܐ is certainly in the apodosis: see on Joh i 1 and iii 6. ܐܡܢܐ is fem. agreeing with ܐܪܐܝܐ, but ܐܡ is masc. The subject therefore must be understood from the previous sentence, i.e. it must be the 'Son of Man' mentioned in v. 62.

vi 71 The name of 'Judas Iscariot' is always spelt ܐܝܫܥܪܝܐ in *S*. The name occurs eleven times in the Gospels, but it so happens that only in three places *C* is extant. One of these is Joh xiv 22, where 'Ischariot' is omitted both by *S* and by *C*. The other two are Lk xxii 3 and Joh vi 71, and in both *C* has ܐܝܫܥܪܝܐ.

The mss of syr.vg are divided. ܐܝܫܥܪܝܐ is much the commonest form, but ܐܝܫܥܪܝܐ occurs  $\frac{1}{3}$  in Gwilliam's 20, and  $\frac{1}{10}$  in Gwilliam's 14. ܐܝܫܥܪܝܐ occurs  $\frac{2}{10}$  in 14, and  $\frac{1}{4}$  in 15\*, and  $\frac{3}{3}$  in the very ancient MS called 18 by Gwilliam. The form ܐܝܫܥܪܝܐ occurs once in Gwilliam's 3 4 9 17 19 23 and twice in 36; of more importance perhaps is the fact that ܐܝܫܥܪܝܐ occurs in Aphraates *B*, p. 404, where the other MS has the ordinary spelling ܐܝܫܥܪܝܐ. There is so little variation as a rule in the Syriac spellings of proper names, that it seemed worth while to draw attention to these, but it is difficult to discover any principle underlying them. It is fairly evident that the Syriac versions do not profess to interpret the name 'Ischariot.'

vii 37 The point found both in *S* and in *C* after ܐܡܢܐ shews that the Syriac exegetical tradition here agreed with that of the English Bible; thus it differed from that current in early times in the West, whereby 'whosoever believeth in me' was treated as the subject of 'let him drink,' and the latter part of the verse was interpreted of our Lord, not of the believer.

vii 49 ܐܡܢܐ the mob (so *C*). As explained in vol. i, p. 554, and vol. ii, pp. 81, 83, the reading of *S* is now known to be ܐܡܢܐ *praters*, possibly a miswriting of ܐܡܢܐ *outsiders*, as in Mk iv 11.

viii 57 On the reading, see p. 228.

ix 34 On the use of ܐܡܢܐ with suffixes to express ܕܠܐ, see pp. 59, 251.

x 22 On the phrase ܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܢܐ as an equivalent for τὰ ἐγκαίρια see p. 80.

xi 18 The 'two parasangs' which I seem to read in *S* may be compared with the description of Bethany in the *Itineraries* as *forsitan secundo miliario a ciuitate* ('Siluiae Peregrinatio' § 29), or as S. Jerome puts it *uilla in secundo ab Aelia miliario* (Lagarde *OS* 108). Two parasangs would be somewhat too far, and in any case the use of the Persian term would be odd, but the word is certainly not ܡܢܐܡܐ.

**xi 25** On the reading, see p. 237, and vol. i, p. 555. I think there can be little doubt that *S* reads **ⲕⲥⲁⲛⲁ**, not **ⲕⲥⲁⲛⲁ** as syr.vg, but I thought it right to indicate the possibility of the alternative. In either case it is certain that *S* omits *καὶ ἡ ζωή*.

**xi 45, 46** The forms אֲחִי in v. 45 and אֲחִי in v. 46 are both certain: see p. 51.


**xii 8** On the omission of this verse in *S* and Codex Bezae, see p. 238.

**xii 43** There is no authority for omitting the second  $\tau\eta\nu$   $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha\nu$ , but there is no room for it in  $S$ . If we omit the second  $\kappa\upsilon\sigma\alpha\epsilon$  we should also probably omit the  $\alpha$  before  $\kappa\alpha$ : on the curiously loose construction often used in comparisons in Syriac, see p. 60.

xii 48 The  $\text{𐤀𐤁𐤅𐤍}$  at the beginning of this verse in  $S^{ed}$  corresponds to  $\delta \alpha\theta\epsilon\omega\acute{\nu}$  in the Greek. There is no trace elsewhere of a various reading. Of the corrections of  $S^{ed}$  which I have suggested,  $\text{𐤀𐤁𐤅𐤍}$  is the more natural word, and is used for  $\alpha\theta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$  in Gal iii 15 syr.vg; it would more accurately correspond to  $\alpha\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ .  $\text{𐤀𐤁𐤅𐤍}$  is still nearer the letters of  $S^{ed}$ , but it would mean  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$  (yet cf Heb ix 26 syr.vg).

**xiii 5** On the use of  $\langle \kappa \alpha \lambda \rangle$  for  $\nu\iota\pi\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$ , see pp. 79, 142, 201.

xiii 22  $\text{סב}$  ( $S^{se}$ ) is a quite impossible word, and the fact that the  $\text{ב}$  begins a line in  $S$ , ranging exactly with the other letters which begin lines in that column, shews that  $S^*$  simply read  $\text{ב | סב} \text{סב}$ . As suggested in the footnotes to the text, the writing visible in front of  $\text{ב}$  is probably part of the word  $\text{סב}$ , inserted to indicate the grammatical correction  $\text{ב סב}$  or  $\text{ב סב סב}$ , instead of  $\text{ב סב}$ .

**xiv 1** The syntactical construction in *S* is the same as that of the sentence quoted by Nöldeke § 272 from Cureton's *Spicilegium* 13<sup>e</sup>.  means 'Shew me this and I will believe thee,' i.e. 'If you shew me this, then I will believe you.' Similarly

מִיָּמֵינוּ כִּלְמָה לֹא מָצָאנוּ מִמֶּנּוּ כִּלְמָה לֹא מָצָאנוּ

means '*If* you believe in God, *then* you will believe in Me.'

The Peshitta, on the other hand, takes πιστεύετε as an imperative in each case, making the sentence two independent commands joined by the copula, *viz.* 'Believe in God and believe in Me.' That *S* here correctly reproduces the Old Syriac is clear from the evidence of Marutha, quoted above on p. 159.

**xiv 17** On the gender of רוח Spirit, see pp. 44, 108. רוח Paraclete is masculine, but as soon as the Spirit is mentioned all the verbs referring to the Comforter are put in the feminine.

**xiv 22** On the name *Judas Thomas*, see p. 146 *f*.

**xv 1, 5** On ܠܝܒܢܐ ܒܝܬܐ the *Vineyard of Truth*, see pp. 143 *f*., 151, 198.

**xviii 1** ܠܝܒܢܐ ܒܝܬܐ. This description of 'Cedron' is almost equally surprising whether we take ܠܝܒܢܐ in its ordinary sense of 'hill,' or in the sense of ἀγρός, 'open country,' discussed on p. 82. Elsewhere *Cedron* is always the name of the torrent or the ravine through which the torrent flows. Thus ܠܝܒܢܐ can hardly be an editorial gloss. Neither can it be a mere peculiarity of *S*, as is proved by the occurrence of قدرون الجبل in Diat<sup>ar</sup> xlviii 1. Probably therefore it represents a variation in the Greek τοῦ Κεδρών, ὄρους ὅπου κ.τ.λ. But however the reading originated, it can hardly be anything but a mistake.

So far as the evidence goes, the Syriac versions seem to favour τοῦ Κεδρών. At least no Syriac text supports either the Western reading τοῦ Κέδρον, followed by Tischendorf, or that of the Received Text τῶν Κέδρων, followed by Westcott and Hort.

**xviii 10** For the name *Malku*, see also on p. 57.

**xviii 13–24** In the *Journal of Theological Studies* ii 141 *f*. Mr C. H. Turner suggests that the leaf of *e*, which contained this passage but is now lost, having been cut out at some very remote time, may have exhibited the order of the verses now found in *S*. There is however one piece of evidence which makes against this view. In Joh xviii 28 the majority of Latin texts most curiously have *ad Caiphan* for *a Caipha*. This reading is the opposite of that of *S*. According to the ordinary text, Jesus is examined by Annas (*vv.* 19–23), then taken to the house of Caiaphas (*v.* 24), and from thence to the Praetorium; according to *S*, Jesus is taken to Annas, sent on at once to Caiaphas, the examination by Annas being transferred to Caiaphas, and then sent on to the Praetorium. But according to the Latins who read *ad* for *a* in xviii 28, Jesus does not go to the house of Caiaphas at all, but Caiaphas appears to meet the prisoner outside the Praetorium. Now *e* is among the Latin texts which read *ad Caiphan* instead of *a Caipha*. According to *e*, therefore, Jesus does not meet Caiaphas until both have arrived just outside the Praetorium; consequently in the missing page the examination must have been conducted by Annas, as in the ordinary text, and not by Caiaphas himself, as in *S*.

It is very striking to find this rearrangement in the text of *S*, seeing that there is no trace of it in our Diatessaron authorities.

**xx 23** The words ܐܢ ܬܝܢܝܢ ܕܥܪܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܪܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܪܬܝܢܐ correspond to ἄν τινος (or τινων) κρατῆτε κεκράτηνται. Here both ܥܪܬܝܢܐ and ܐܢ are in the singular, so they cannot refer to 'sins.' ܐܢ is not often followed by ܬܐܢܐ, but when it is it has the sense of 'to shut' (except in the phrase ܬܐܢܐ ܕܥܪܬܝܢܐ 'to have a grudge against'), e.g. Ps lxix 16

ܠܐ ܬܐܢܐ ܕܥܪܬܝܢܐ ܕܥܪܬܝܢܐ

*Let not the pit shut its mouth upon me.*

This example shews that ܬܐܢܐ ܕܥܪܬܝܢܐ may mean 'to shut in' as well as 'to shut out.' Thus we might translate in Joh xx 23 'He whom ye shall shut up, he is shut up.'





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